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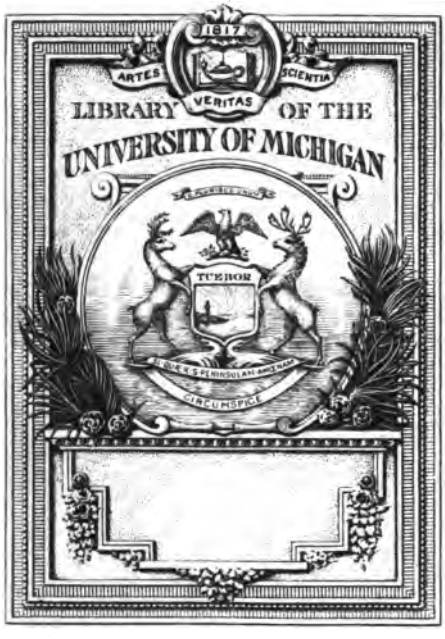
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John T. Kelly.

Collectanea Politica;

OR THE

Political Transactions

OF

IRELAND,

FROM THE

ACCESSION OF HIS MAJESTY KING GEORGE THE III. TO THE PRESENT TIME;

CONTAINING AN IMPARTIAL STATEMENT OF

PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS, FROM THE YEAR 1760, TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A LEGISLATIVE UNION

WITH

GREAT BRITAIN.

A CIRCUMSTANTIAL ACCOUNT OF

THE LATE REBELLION;

WITH THE PRINCIPAL

STATE TRIALS IN CONSEQUENCE THEREOF:

AND A

COMPLEAT VIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS IN THIS COUNTRY DURING THE LAST FORTY YEARS.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

BY WILLIAM WENMAN SEWARD, ESQ.

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John F. Kelly

☞ For Contents,—See Page 449.

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Collectanea Politica;

VOL. II. CHAP. I.

Opening of Parliament in 1785—Lord Lieutenant's ſpeech—remarks thereon.—Debates on the ſubject of attachment.—Speech and motion of H. Flood eſq. thereon—motion amended. Debates and proceedings reſpecting Mr. Orde's Commercial propoſitions.—Speech of the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons on preſenting the Money Bills.

THE Parliament which had been prorogued the 14th of May, 1784, to the 29th June following, was by ſeveral ſubſequent proclamations prorogued to the 20th of Jan. 1785; when his Grace the Lord Lieutenant, opened both houſes with the following ſpeech.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen;*"

"I have his Majeſty's commands to meet you in Parliament, "and to deſire your advice and co-operation, upon thoſe af- "fairs of importance, which, in the preſent circumſtances of "the kingdom, require your moſt ſerious attention."

"Whilſt I lament the lawleſs outrages and unconſtitutional "proceedings which had taken place ſince your laſt prorogation, I had the ſatisfaction to perceive that theſe exceſſes "were confined to a few places, and even in theſe condemned; "and I have now the pleaſure to obſerve, that by the ſalutary "interpoſition of the laws, the general tranquillity is re- "eſtabliſhed."

3-27-45 Rik.

"*Gentlemen of the houſe of Commons,*"

"I have ordered the public accounts to be laid before you. "—I have the fulleſt reliance on your approved loyalty to the "King, and attachment to your country, that a due conſide- "ration of the exigencies of the ſtate, will lead you to make "whatever proviſions ſhall appear to be neceſſary for the pub- "lic expences, and for the honorable ſupport of his Majeſ- "ty's government."—

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*"

"I am to recommend in the Kings name, to your ear- "neſt inveſtigation thoſe objects of Trade and Commerce "between *Great Britain*, and *Ireland*, which have not yet re- "ceived their complete adjuſtment.—In forming a plan, "with a view to a final ſettlement, you will be ſenſible that "the intereſt of Great Britain and Ireland ought to be for "ever united and inſeparable; and his Majeſty relies on your "liberality and wiſdom for adopting ſuch an equitable ſyſtem, "for the joint benefit of both countries, and the ſupport of "the common intereſt, as will ſecure mutual ſatisfaction and "permanency."—

"The encouragement and extenſion of Agriculture and "Manufactures, and eſpecially of the Linen Manufacture, "will, I am perſuaded, engage your conſtant concern.—Let "me likewiſe direct your attention, in a particular manner, "to the fiſheries on your coaſts, from which you may "reaſonably hope for an improving ſource of induſtry and "wealth to this kingdom, and of ſtrength to the empire."

"The liberality which you have always ſhewn to the main- "tenance of your proteſtant Charter-ſchools and other public "inſtitutions, makes it unneceſſary for me to recommend "them to your care.—You cannot more beneficially exert

"this

"this laudable ſpirit, than by directing your attention to im-
"prove and to diffuſe throughout the kingdom, the advanta-
"ges of good education: ſenſible of its eſſential conſequence
"to the morals and happineſs of the people, and to the dig-
"nity of the nation, I am happy to aſſure you of his Majeſ-
"ty's gracious patronage; and ſhall be earneſt to give every
"aſſiſtance in my power to the ſucceſs of ſuch meaſures, as
"your wiſdom may deviſe for this important purpoſe."—

"It is the province of your prudence and diſcretion to con-
"ſider what new proviſions may be neceſſary for ſecuring the
"ſubjects from violence and outrage, for the regulation of
"the police, and the better execution of the laws, as well as
"for the general encouragement of peaceable ſubordination
"and honeſt induſtry.—It will be a pleaſing task to me to aſ-
"ſiſt and promote your exertions for the tranquillity of the
"kingdom, for upholding the authority of the legiſlature,
"and ſupporting the true principles of our happy conſtitution,
"both in Church and ſtate."

"The uniformity of laws and of Religion, and a common
"intereſt in treaties with foreign ſtates, form a ſure bond of
"mutual connection and attachment between Great Britain
"and Ireland.—It will be your care to cheriſh thoſe ineſti-
"mable bleſſings with that ſpirit and wiſdom which will
"render them effectual ſecurities to the ſtrength and proſ-
"perity of the empire."—

This ſpeech we ſee particularly takes notice of the three following points—viz. 1ſt. "*Unconſtitutional proceedings*" which had taken place.—2dly. a *final* adjuſtment of Trade and Commerce between Great-Britain and Ireland"—3dly. a plan "to diffuſe throughout this kingdom the advantages of good education."—And accordingly each of theſe became a ſubject of Parliamentary diſcuſſion during the preſent year.—

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As to the firſt, it has been already ſtated, that attempts were recently made to prevail on the Sheriffs of counties, &c. to convene general meetings in their reſpective bailwicks, for the purpoſe of deliberating on the expediency of a reform in the repreſentation of the people; and for the appointment of a national congreſs, to meet in Dublin, and then digeſt a plan of ſuch reform:—Theſe were the unconſtitutional proceedings to which the ſpeech alludes.—The conduct of the Court of King's Bench in awarding an attachment on that occaſion againſt the then High Sheriff of the County Dublin, (which was before mentioned) was however conſidered by many, as not founded upon legal authority; and ſeveral members in the houſe of Commons, endeavoured to bring forward that enquiry.—At the commencement of this ſeſſion it was therefore moved "that the proper officer do lay before this houſe copies of the proceedings had in the King's Bench laſt Term, in the caſe of the King againſt Henry Stephens Reilly, Eſq. late High Sheriff of the Co. of Dublin."—But after different alterations had been propoſed and carried, this reſolution was reduced to the following form, viz: "that the King's Attorney General do lay before this houſe, a copy of the charge exhibited by him againſt H. S. Reilly, late High Sheriff of the Co. of Dublin, in conſequence of which he was attached by the Court of King's Bench; as alſo the exculpation of the ſaid H. S. Reilly to the ſaid charge."—

On the 18th Febru. the following reſolutions paſſed,---viz. "Ordere'd, that it be an inſtruction to the grand Committee for Courts of Juſtice to ſit on *Thurſday* next, at three of the Clock.

"Order'd that the copy of the charge exhibited againſt Hen. Stephens Reilly, Eſq. late High Sheriff of the County of Dublin, upon which the ſaid H. S. Reilly was attached, as alſo the order for the attachment againſt the ſaid Hen. S. Reilly,

Reilly, now lying on the table, be referred to the ſaid Committee."——

On the 24th, the late Hen. Flood, Eſq. brought this ſubject into debate, but finding he was overpower'd by a great majority, he attempted ſoon afterwards to re-aſſume it, in another form:—And we ſhall here ſtate that gentleman's ſpeech on the occaſion, as it will fully explain the point in queſtion.——

"I moved yeſterday, (ſaid he) that the officer of the court of King's bench ſhould attend on this day, with the rule book of the court, on the crown ſide, for the years 1761, 1762, and 1763. I conceived that it contained moſt uſeful and neceſſary information. I will not ſay, that for that reaſon it was denied; but it was denied. I moved that the grand committee of courts of juſtice ſhould ſit this day, to receive the ſubject: that too was refuſed; though certainly the moſt parliamentary mode of proceeding. I ſhall, however, go on; for every thing that paſſed in that committee the night before the laſt, makes it more neceſſary to enter into the preſent diſcuſſion.

"I do not mean to arraign the King's-bench, much leſs the committee of this Houſe; but there are moments, and there are caſes wherein a prejudice ſeizes on the minds of great and wiſe bodies, and induces them to decide in a manner leſs ſuited to their wisdom and to their greatneſs, that one would have expected. The decried aggregate meeting; the dreaded reform of parliament; the inhabitants as well as freeholders, being invited by Mr. Sheriff Reilly's notice; the queſtion of catholic franchiſe; the words repreſentation and congreſs ſtrangely tortured; and the reprobated reſolution of that meeting pledging their lives and fortunes to the unknown and unformed deciſion of that congreſs, and of thoſe repreſentatives; all theſe circumſtances, heightened by eloquence and prejudice, ſeem originally to have run away with the diſcre-

tion of the King's bench, and to have had the ſame effect on the committee of this Houſe, the night before the laſt. The opinion of that night was an opinion merely founded on Mr. Reilly's caſe, and that under much colouring and miſrepreſentation. It becomes neceſſary, therefore, to bring before you now, the conſtitutional queſtion, as to the principle of attachment, without reference to any particular court of juſtice, or to any particular and ſpecific caſe.

"The very power of parliament has been queſtioned, as if we would be competent to impeach a judge, or to addreſs for his removal, and yet not be competent to enquire into his judgments, which ought to be our ground for doing either; or as if we could be competent to make laws, and yet have no knowledge or judgment as to the laws that are in being. But the conſtitution and the law ſay otherwiſe. The houſes of parliament are made the guardians of the integrity of the bench, by recent ſtatute. By the conſtitution, original judicature, in caſes of impeachment, remains to the parliament; and final judicature, did once belong to both Houſes, though now, by compact, it is confined to the Lords. At all events the wiſdom of the conſtitution ſaw that final judicature muſt never be ſeparated from the legiſlative power; for were it, it is evident that the final judicature might, by degrees, under colour of adjudication, invade the legiſlation; whereas, when the final judicature is even in any one body of the legiſlature, it is not much to be feared that *that* body will endeavour to exalt its judicial at the expence of its legiſlative authority.

"As a ſtrong inference, on the preſent ſubject, ariſes out of this principle, I ſhall take it a little higher. In the Saxon æra, from whence all the freedom of her conſtitution is derived, all civil and criminal law was diſpenſed in the county courts, when the alderman, earl, or ſheriff, being names at different times for the ſame thing, did preſide, being elected by the body of the county, and the freeholders or body of the

the county judged. Thus there were originally judges, both of law and fact, though now it is attempted to exclude them even from the latter. In the ſimplicity of that time, and in the paucity of laws, there was then no ſuch neceſſity as there is now that law ſhould be a profeſſion, or that there ſhould be profeſſional lawyers or judges; nor were there any ſuch; ſince they have become neceſſary, ſince crown judges have been appointed; but ſtill the wiſdom of the conſtitution has ſaid, let there be profeſſional and crown judges for law; but there muſt be popular judges, that is jurors, for the fact. But, to the preſent ſubject: As the county courts diſpenſed all law within the county, ſo did the national aſſembly or wittenagemote diſpenſe law in other matters. What follows? That at firſt not only final, but original judicature was exerciſed by the national aſſembly. Now, that *that* aſſembly had a law of privilege, analogous to ours, to protect its dignity, and to defend it, in the neceſſary exerciſe of its indiſpenſable functions, cannot be doubted.

"What do I infer from this? That when original judicature was tranſplanted from the national aſſembly to the courts of juſtice, which we now ſee, this neceſſary law of privilege and protection accompanied the transfer, by the wiſe ſpirit of our conſtitution, and that the practice of attachment is, in the courts of juſtice, rightly underſtood and limited, exactly what our law privilege is to the parliament. Now every man knows that the law of privilege, in parliament, is grounded on neceſſity only, and never to be extended beyond that neceſſity. Every body knows what a clamour the courts of juſtice would make, and the nation too, if parliament were to extend its privilege an atom beyond the abſolute neceſſity of ſelf-protection. Every man knows that the law of privilege is only meant for internal purpoſes, if I may ſay ſo, and not for the community, or for the ſubject at large; that it is by definition *priva lex*, and never to be indulged to the extinction of the *lex publica*, and that it never ought to be exerted, except when

when the perſon on whom it is executed has abuſed or reſiſted the proceſs or order of the court of parliament, or when he is in ſuch a ſituation that there is, as it were, a privity between him and the body in whom the privilege reſides.

"In its origin it was ſo confined as to extend only to contempts committed in the preſence of the court or parliament. Hence the nature of the proceſs of attachment is perſonal only; that is to ſay, it is merely an apprehenſion of the perſon; becauſe it was ſuppoſed that the perſon committing the contempt muſt be preſent, and that his caption was unavoidable; and hence it is, that when caption is avoided, the proceſs to this hour is ineffectual; no diſtringas iſſues; no alias; no pluries; it is a perſonal proceſs only, becauſe originally intended for contempts committed in perſon, and in preſence only.

"A ſhort view of the Norman æra, will ſhew that the preſent doctrine of attachment, has no foundation but in the ſtar-chamber. William the Conqueror overturned the whole conſtitution; by an arbitrary fiction, he aſſumed to be the proprietor of the whole ſoil, and divided it into 60,000 knights-fees, that he might have, in effect, an army of 60,000 knights bound to him by all the chains of the tyrannous Norman feod which he introduced. As to national aſſemblies, ſuch as the Saxon, he held none; as to parliaments, ſuch as we know, he held none. If he held any public councils, they were councils of barons only, and thoſe partially and arbitrarily ſummoned, a fault in which he was imitated by moſt of his immediate ſucceſſors. Hence one of the articles of *magna charta* is, that the major barons ſhall be particularly, that is to ſay, individually ſummoned. What conſtituted the major baron was then perfectly known, though now imperfectly. But this article had a double operation; it required, 1ſt, that every major baron ſhould be ſummoned; and, 2d, that no man would be ſummoned who was not a major baron.

"As

" As to the judicial power, which is our object, he cancelled, in effect, the Saxon conſtitution and the county courts, and ſubſtituted a Norman court, called the *aula regis* in the place of them, and compelled the people to quit their native judicatures and their native language, and to plead in the Norman language, and in this Norman judicature, before an eccleſiaſtic, whom he brought from Normandy to preſide in that court, in the character, and with the title of *capitalis juſticiarius*; and here the enemies of liberty take their ſtand.

" They point to the ruins of the conſtitution, and from them they pretend to delineate its fabric, and to eſtabliſh its principles on its ſubverſion. But the right honourable member [the Attorney General] might as well tell me that the curfeu, or that the conqueſt was a part of the conſtitution, as that the *aula regis* was ſo.

" This court and this juſticiary, eſtabliſhed by a tyrant to ſupport his tyranny, ſoon became a tyrant in the reigns of his ſucceſſors, both to the prince and to the people, and roſe to ſuch enormity in the reign of Henry III. when Bracton wrote, whom the right honourable gentleman [the Attorney General] has quoted, that the ſon of that Henry III. namely Edward I. overthrew that court, and eſtabliſhed on its ruins the four great courts of judicature which we now poſſeſs, and has been thence juſtly ſtiled, the Juſtinian of England. If Bracton's words, therefore, as quoted, were applicable to attachments, which the very reading of them ſhews that they are not, yet they could be of no authority, becauſe they would be a deſcription of a court not belonging to our conſtitution, and then in the ſtage of its moſt exceſſive uſurpation. As well might a man ſtate the regal power in England, by ſtating the practice of James II. immediately before his depoſal. But Bracton only uſed general words, and not the word attachment; and his words would prove nothing on the ſubject, becauſe they would prove too much; for they would

would equally prove that attachments might be uſed in caſes between individual and individual, as between the court and the ſervants of the court or the magiſtrate.

" Again I ſay that the firſt principles of our criminal juriſprudence declare, that no man ſhall be forced to give evidence againſt himſelf, and that no man ſhall be convicted, but by judgment of his peers. Attachment is an exception to this general rule. It proves the rule indeed, but as it cannot prove itſelf, it muſt be eſtabliſhed by proof; and nothing but precedent, in point, can be admitted. Conſtitutional doctrines may be eſtabliſhed by principle; but unconſtitutional doctrines can only be maintained by precedents exactly in point. What follows? Till the reign of Edward I. the preſent courts of judicature did not exiſt. Till then no precedent, in point, could exiſt. Neither can we poſſibly have a record of any ſuch precedents earlier than a ſubſequent reign, namely that of Edward II. for with Edward II. and not before the year books begin. What does Lord Chief Baron Gilbert, that great lawyer and antiquarian, ſay? In his zeal to eſtabliſh attachments, in their full extent, he forgets his knowledge. He quotes the ſtatute of 13th of Edward I. and ſays, that it ſeems as if commitment for contempts was founded in that ſtatute.——Whoever reads the ſtatute will ſee that it has nothing to ſay to the ſubject; but this is not all. The judge is guilty of the groſſeſt anachroniſm. In what reſpect? Though, ſays he, no man can be impriſoned, according to *magna charta*, but by judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land, yet this ſtatute of Edward I. is *lex terræ*, as if thoſe words could mean any thing but what was law at the time, or as if King John and the barons ſeventy years before, could have had in contemplation, a ſtatute that was to paſs ſeventy years after. What uſe do I make of this? I uſe it to prove that at that period there was no foundation for the preſent doctrine of attachment, otherwiſe

wiſe ſo great a man, ſo zealous in the cauſe, would not have committed ſo deplorable an error. I uſe it to prove, that the words of *magna charta*, or Bracton's words quoted by the Attorney General, being prior to that ſtatute of Edward I. are committed by the authority of that judge, not to be applicable to attachments, of which he places the origin not higher than the ſtatute of the 13th of Edward I. As to that ſtatute, I leave the reading of it to prove, that *that* had nothing to ſay to the ſubject; and then I will paſs from Gilbert to Blackſtone, who animadverts on the error of Gilbert, and then falls into as great an error himſelf. For what does he do? He quotes the year books for precedents of attachments, but a learned member has gone through every caſe, ſo quoted from the year books, and has found that in every one of thoſe caſes it appears by the year book, that a jury was empanelled: What follows? That every one of Blackſtone's authorities are overturned. And what is the natural inference? That when two great judges and antiquarians have laboured this point, they have been able to prove nothing but their own errors in law, and in fact, that the ſubject is deſperate, and that the point is incapable of proof. No precedent is poſſible to be found before Edward III. The tumultuary reigns that were infeſted by the wars of York and Lancaſter, are not times of precedent; if in that period any had been produced, which yet there have not. What follows? We are brought to the reign of Henry VII. and then a ſtatute was found neceſſary to ſupport the court of ſtar-chamber. And why? Becauſe the practices of that court could not be ſupported by the common law of the land. Attachments, in full extent, then, began indeed. But they began in the ſtar-chamber, and under that ſtatute. By example, it is true, they crept into other courts; which are apt enough to favour increaſe of juriſdiction; but as they roſe (in their culpable extent) with that ſtatute, which was made to ſupport the ſtar-chamber, ſo alſo, they muſt be conſidered, as falling with that ſtatute.

" What

—" What follows? That attachment is not a part of the general law of the land, but merely a law of privilege for the protection of the courts; founded on and tolerated only by neceſſity, and not to be endured beyond it. It can, therefore, only extend to perſons guilty of contempt to the courts in their preſence; to the officers and ſervants of the court; to perſons abuſing or reſiſting the proceſs of the court; and to the ſheriffs or magiſtrates, when they become, in effect, ſervants of the court *pro tempore*; by being *pro tempore* actually not conſtructively engaged in the ſervice of the court. The two latter branches are extenſions of the law of privilege, beyond its original bounds; and they are the utmoſt extenſion that can be admitted with ſafety to the general law of the land. What follows? That where the ſheriff is not actually in the ſervice of ſome of the courts, he is not ſubject to this ſummary proceſs. Still leſs can he be ſubject to it, when that which he does, is not a part of his juriſdiction, as ſheriff. Colour in office, in ſuch caſe, is not to be intended againſt the ſheriff; becauſe the law will not intend colour of office, in his favour. In Dalton's Sheriff, 121. page 573, are theſe words, " where the ſheriff, or officer, hath a precept to levy 20*l.* and he levieth 40*l.* this is extortion. But where he hath no authority, it ſhall not be intended that he doth that by colour of his office, but in ſuch caſe it is felony. Now what can be more abſurd than to hold that the law will intend colour of office in favour of puniſhment, when it will not intend it in favour of life"?

" Now to apply this to the caſe of any of thoſe ſheriffs who have favoured county meetings for promoting a reform, except Mr. Reilly, whoſe caſe I will keep entirely out of the preſent queſtion, has any ſheriff a power or authority by his office, to command ſuch meetings? Certainly not. Has any ſheriff pretended to command ſuch meetings? Certainly not. Have they ſummoned the county by their bailiffs? No. Have they

they attempted to punish any man for absence? No. Did they compel the power of the county, that is, the county armed, to assemble? No. On the face of their advertisement, was it not declared that the meeting was desired, not commanded, at the request of others, and not by the official power of the sheriff? Certain gentlemen of the county desire the presence of the sheriff as the first conservator of the peace. Is not this an overt act of peace, not of sedition? They desire the convenience of his county court, probably the longest and the most central room, in the county; and by his notice he signifies a compliance with their desires. What is there in this that can be tortured into a crime? Are voluntary meetings in a free county, *prima facie*, and in themselves illegal? Certainly not. Is deliberating on a reform illegal? Certainly not. But choosing delegates to represent them in congress, it is said, is illegal. In the first place, these expressions were used in very few counties; but even where they were, I ask is the word "congress" to become for ever, and in all senses, illegal, because the Americans used it? As to America, it has now the sanction of parliamentary authority. By definition, it is only a meeting or assembly; and in its general use has been more frequently employed to denote meetings for promoting peace than war. I have no partiality for the word congress, because, in my mind, Ireland is as good an authority herself as any she can find abroad. But yet I cannot find, that there is any illegality in those syllables, or in that sound. As to representatives, I readily admit that if by representatives, it were necessary to understand that they were persons whose deliberations were to bind the people, and to have any coercive authority or legal obligation, the objection would be just. This House undoubtedly is the only representatives of the people in parliament; that is to say, to all purposes of legislation. I proposed a resolution to that effect, in Lord Carlisle's government, but the parliament would not assent to it. Yet now there are who say, that this House is not only the

sole

ſole repreſentative of the people in parliament, and for legiſlation, but that we can have no other kind of repreſentation whatever, for any other purpoſe, or in any other capacity. Now the latter I deny. The king is the repreſentative of the community, as to foreign ſtates. Every man may have various repreſentatives. A man's heir is his repreſentative in one ſenſe; his executor in another, his agent in a third, his attorney, in a fourth, any man to whom he gives a letter of attorney for a particular purpoſe, in a fifth, and ſo on, *ad infinitum*. That the people have a right to petition, no man denies. But they cannot depute or delegate that right, it is argued; It is unneceſſary to debate that point, for neither the convention nor congreſs, have petitioned, or mean to petition. What then is the fact. Each county has choſen a few nominees, or deputies, in whom they confide, to confer with others of the ſame deſcription from other counties, in the capital, as the place moſt convenient for meeting, and for information; and during the ſitting of parliament, when it is poſſible to be of uſe, not during its prorogation, when it could be of no uſe; and this they have done, for what? That concord may be the better obtained, in a caſe where any diviſion among the people would be fatal. What theſe deputies or delegates reſolve has no binding force or coercive obligatorineſs on the counties. The counties may petition in ſupport of thoſe reſolves, or they may not; they may enforce them by all their conſtitutional powers, or they may reject them. In ſhort, it only tends to unite the people, and hence is the objection to it. The enemies to reform wiſh to divide the people. They feel that this mode is the beſt mode of uniting them. They know that *that* union would be irreſiſtible, and they therefore object to this meaſure, not becauſe it is really illegal, but becauſe it is rational and efficacious.

"As to county meetings they are not illegal in England; how can they be ſo here? that they are not illegal in England, witneſs the innumerable meetings of that kind, in that country

country at all times. Witneſs, in the preſent time, a requiſition, but the other day, in the county of York, ſent to the ſheriff, Mr. Damby, in conſequence of which he advertiſed a county meeting, at which Mr. Wyvil attended, to promote a reform. Witneſs another meeting, more pointed to our purpoſe, held in the city of York on the 12th of this month (February) by the freemen and inhabitants at large in that city. They petition parliament for a reform, and then they reſolve, "That it is the opinion of this meeting, that an additional number of repreſentatives of counties, not accompanied with any other reform, will not ſufficiently amend the repreſentation of the people." In Ireland ſuch a reſolve by inhabitants at large, would be ſaid to dictate to the legiſlature and to overturn the conſtitution; and this petition of the freemen and inhabitants of York, notwithſtanding the audacity of this reſolve, has been ſince preſented to, and received by parliament in England, without the ſmalleſt objection to it. Indeed if there be a caſe in the world that ought to be ſingled out, from all others, as the caſe in which the people ſhould have the moſt authority, and the Houſe of Commons the leaſt, it is the queſtion of reform; And why? becauſe this queſtion ariſes, ſolely, from the inadequacy of the repreſentation; what follows? the repreſentative is, in this ſingle caſe, a party againſt the people, and ought as little as poſſible to judge in his own cauſe.

"I beg pardon for having detained you ſo long. I am happy that the many cogent arguments, and caſes of law, and the great abilities that have already been exhauſted on this ſubject, have made it unneceſſary for me to detain you longer. They have rendered it even improper, becauſe it would be only to repeat, with leſs force, and with leſs authority, what was then advanced. This I have every where avoided as much as I could. I know how much I have weakened my argument by doing ſo——but it was unavoidable. And now, Sir.

Sir, I ſhall move you to come to the following reſolution.—"Reſolved that the practice of attachments, for contempt of court, ſtands on the ſame ground of law in both kingdoms, and ought not to be extended further in Ireland than in England."—No particular court is ſingled out. We do not declare the law by this reſolution, we only ſay, what cannot be denied, that the law of attachments is the ſame in both kingdoms, and that the practice ought, therefore, to be the ſame. We only declare, that in a practice not congenial to the conſtitution, we ought not to go further than England. The reſolution abſtains from ſaying that the practice here has been further extended, out of reſpect to the bench; and alſo from this conſideration that the preſent judges have not originated this exceſs. It does not cenſure the paſt. It only provides for the future."

Mr. Flood was ſeconded in this motion by Sir Edward Newenham; but after ſome debates, the original motion was amended to the following form—viz:

"That the practice of attachments for contempts of court, ſtands upon the ſame ground of Law both in England and Ireland and does not appear to have been extended in this kingdom beyond the ſame."—The reſolution in this form was carried, and therefore Mr. Flood's intention of enquiry as to attachments, fell to the ground.

We come now to conſider thoſe proceedings which took place relative to the ſecond great object in his Excellency's ſpeech which we before noticed—a final adjuſtment of Trade and Commerce between Great Britain and Ireland.—As this was a ſubject of the firſt importance—and its diſcuſſion occaſion'd a very large debate, we ſhall reſerve it for a ſeparate chapter.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Proceedings in Great Britain and Ireland reſpecting a final adjuſtment of commerce.—Propoſitions ſubmitted to the Britiſh Miniſtry;—and new model'd—Bills introduced in the Houſe of Commons in each Country grounded thereon—Mr. Secretary Orde's ſpeech on that occaſion—Speech of Henry Grattan—leave given to bring in the bill—public opinion on the ſubject—Petitioners for and againſt the bill; ſubſequent proceedings and event of the meaſure.—

PREVIOUS to the meeting of the Iriſh parliament in 1785, the Britiſh cabinet, in concert with the Commiſſioners appointed on the part of *Ireland*, had formed a plan for regulating and finally adjuſting the commercial intercourſe between the two countries.—On the 7th of Febr. Mr. Orde, then ſecretary to the Lord Lieutenant, announced this ſyſtem to the houſe of Commons, and on the 11th a ſet of reſolutions which he had before laid on their table and agreed to by the houſe without any material alterations.—The concurrence of the houſe of Peers being ſoon after obtained, theſe reſolutions were immediately tranſmitted to England as the propoſed baſis on the part of that kingdom, for an equitable and final adjuſtment.

The Britiſh parliament was for ſome time occupied in receiving the petitions and hearing the evidence of manufacturers and merchants of every deſcription, upon this ſubject:—and the propoſitions were afterwards brought forward by Mr. Pitt, but with a variety of amendments, variations and additions.—To the original ſet of propoſitions, ten new ones were added, ſome of them only ſupplemental to and explanatory of the former, but ſeveral containing much new and important matter: they were thrown into heads of a bill.

On the 12th of Auguſt, Mr. Orde introduced into the houſe of Commons here, a bill correſpondent to that moved by the Engliſh miniſter.—He moved the houſe that "leave be given to bring in a Bill for finally regulating the intercourſe and commerce between Great Britain and Ireland on permanent and equitable principles for the mutual benefit of both kingdoms."—He prefaced this motion with a ſpeech to the following effect.

"*Mr. Speaker.*

"I have been ſo much accuſtomed to the indulgence of this Houſe, that notwithſtanding the apprehenſion I muſt neceſſarily feel from the great importance of the buſineſs I have to propoſe, I have the ſureſt reliance upon the candour and generoſity of the aſſembly to which I addreſs myſelf, conſcious as I am of the benefits that will reſult from what I now offer to this country, and only doubtful of my own ability to ſet the queſtion in a true point of view. I therefore call upon gentlemen to examine it with attention, but without prejudice, and I am confident they will find it ſo conducive to the true intereſt of Ireland, that they will not repine at the many delays and interruptions which have unavoidably occurred during the ſeſſion.

On a ſubject of ſomuch importance, I truſt gentlemen will think it unneceſſary for me to remark, how eſſential it is towards forming a juſt determination, that they ſhould diveſt themſelves of every impreſſion that could be made by whatever they have heard out of doors, and that they ſhould take the meaſure up on its own merits.

I ſhould be ſorry to aſſume a reſponſibility that did not belong to me, but in this buſineſs I am proud to ſtand forward, and declare myſelf reſponſible. I ſay this to avoid miſrepreſentation. I ſpeak to this country, and I wiſh it may be heard in the ſiſter kingdom; becauſe there is nothing in the

the bill which I ſhall now have the honour to propoſe, that I dare not honeſtly avow, nor would I propoſe a meaſure that I was not in my heart convinced would conduce to the benefit of Ireland.

It has been ſaid, and very ſtrongly relied upon, that this Houſe ſtood pledged to the eleven reſolutions which were paſſed in the parliament of Ireland, and tranſmitted for the conſideration of the Britiſh parliament; but a moment's reflection will ſhew gentlemen that ſuch a thing was impoſſible; the very act of tranſmitting them for conſideration ſhewed that they might be accepted either as they went from hence, or with ſome ſhades of difference, or upon certain conditions.

It has been ſaid, that Great Britain is not pledged to this adjuſtment, though government was. I never wiſhed to take off any part of the pledge that government had given to it, nor ſhould I be authorized if I attempted to do it; but I muſt obſerve, that government took it up at the deſire of parliament expreſſed in their addreſs of the laſt ſeſſion; though government on both ſides could only go a certain length in it. The eleven reſolutions of parliament were indeed a groundwork on which government wiſhed to erect an edifice, to contain an inexhauſtible ſtore of benefit to both kingdoms; and I ſtill hope to ſee it brought to perfection.—Other materials have ſince been added, yet they are all congenial to the firſt, and if arranged and placed together by the hands of thoſe who are friends to the empire—if out of theſe materials an whole is formed, cemented together by the wiſdom of thoſe who love thoſe kingdoms, a pile may be raiſed that will ſtand the teſt of ages. At the ſame time that I avow the concurrence of government, I wiſh to juſtify their conduct, which I truſt will be proved to have been alike friendly to Great Britain and this country; for in a buſineſs of ſuch importance, where the intention is to conciliate, to unite, and to cement the intereſts of the two countries for ever, it would be folly to lean with any unjuſt partiality to either.

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In proceeeding on this buſineſs, it has been neceſſary for miniſters to conſider the difference of the two countries. With that view miniſters on the other ſide have conducted themſelves, and have brought into the Britiſh parliament, a bill founded on the variety of matter laid before them. When the eleven reſolutions were paſſed in this country, they were only to be conſidered as the foundation of a treaty to which Britain was free to accede, or which ſhe might reject. Theſe reſolutions aroſe from an addreſs of this Houſe, and gentlemen will recollect, that the circumſtances which led to that addreſs, and in which the preſent government upon its arrival found this kingdom, were ſuch, that it was impoſſible to proceed without ſome ſyſtem to reſcue the country from ſo much uncertainty and diſtreſs. Government, therefore, at the deſire of this Houſe, took up the preſent meaſure. I, for one, approved of it, and gave my conſent, but gentlemen will recollect it was a propoſition of expectation from the other ſide, almoſt every part of it led to conceſſion; the matter to be heard by us was ſmall, it was apparent that the conceſſions we required were all beneficial to this country, and therefore we were almoſt unanimous.

But on this very account it became neceſſary on the other ſide the water to conſider it with more attention, to conſider what they ſhould concede in a ſyſtem, which at leaſt the force of prejudice taught them to look upon with apprehenſion. It was therefore neceſſary for them to examine evidence, and much conſequent diſcuſſion enſued; the reſult was, that twenty reſolutions containing the whole purport and ſpirit of the eleven propoſitions of Ireland, together with the conditions on which England is ready to aſſent to them, were paſſed, and are now brought into the Engliſh parliament in the form of a bill.

Having ſucceeded ſo far as to bring in a bill, miniſters ſubmit the ſyſtem to the conſideration of this country, and have waited its deciſion, that they might not ſeem to carry the

the ſyſtem without its conſent, but to proceed according to its opinion, and hoping to bring the whole to an unanimous concluſion.

I would therefore adviſe, that we ſhould do as England has done; that we ſhould firſt give leave to bring in a bill on our propoſitions, then receive every information that can be laid before us, and after having formed our bill, upon what ſhall appear to be the true intereſt of this country, compare it with the Engliſh bill; and after all, am ſanguine enough to hope there will be found very little difference indeed.

But it is objected, that by bringing in a bill, Ireland is pledged, while Great Britain, in ſtopping where ſhe is, may take advantage and make any alterations ſhe thinks proper. I do not ſee that, in either country, a bill can be conſidered as any thing more than a propoſition liable to any alteration before it receives the royal aſſent, and long before that can happen, the opinion of each nation on the preſent ſyſtem will be fully known to the other. Therefore I ſay no advantage can be taken by either; for if any alteration ſhould be made by one country, it would only give the other an opportunity of receding from the treaty. For theſe reaſons, I hope, I ſhall be allowed to proceed in the ſhape of a bill, formed on our own propoſitions, which, I truſt, I ſhall make perfectly acceptable, by introducing ſuch clauſes and explanations as ſhall make it clearly conſonant to the free and independent conſtitution of this country. Wherever it differs from the eleven propoſitions, the alterations ſhall carry upon them the proof that they are for the mutual benefit of both countries.

And here, Sir, allow me to declare, that I do not think it poſſible that this country in ſettling a ſyſtem which is for ever to unite her intereſts with thoſe of Great Britain, will ſeek to catch at little trifling objections; the good ſenſe of this nation is too great to be duped by deſigning people. I have declared, and I beg it may be believed, that I never

will introduce into this Houſe any thing derogatory to the conſtitution of this country, derogatory to that conſtitution which has been repeatedly and recently recognized on the other ſide; and which after ſo many full, open and decided declarations made by Great Britain, there does not remain the leaſt ſhadow of a reaſon for ſuppoſing ſhe would be ſo wild, ſo abſurd, (I want words to expreſs my abhorrence of the idea) ſo ungenerous as to attack. The two nations will, I truſt, upon principles of good faith proceed to draw cloſer the bands of union, and if it were poſſible that any thing I could introduce, could be interpreted as trenching on the freedom and independance of Ireland, I declare I have no authority for doing ſo; on the contrary, was I to do ſo, I ſhould act againſt authority.

For ſome time paſt I have entreated gentlemen to delay the conſideration of this queſtion, not from any wiſh to prevent its receiving a full diſcuſſion, but that it might not be taken up partially, and before it was mature. I now wiſh to invite examination, I wiſh the accompliſhment of the buſineſs to depend upon the reſult of our well weighed deliberations, and when I ſhall have the honour to introduce a bill to effectuate the ſettlement of the trade and intercourſe between Great Britain and Ireland upon juſt and equitable principles, I deſire to have it underſtood that I mean the mutual intereſt of both; and that I do it with an intention of laying it before the people of this country, and collecting their ſenſe upon the ſubject.

From the revolution which had taken place in the ſtate of commerce and politics, by the eſtabliſhment of the American States, it becomes neceſſary to draw the bands of union between Great Britain and Ireland as cloſe as poſſible. By a rivalſhip in trade, both countries would be injured, foreigners only could profit or rejoice. We therefore ſhould endeavour to forward the intereſt of the two countries as of one

one united empire—on this ground the reſolutions were formed; their object was to open each country to the other, to remove the prohibitions which the jealouſy of England has eſtabliſhed, in order to keep her trade to herſelf—to form a ſcale of equal benefits, with an equal conſtruction of the navigation laws, and admit this country to every benefit which England enjoys. In a word, that each country ſhould prefer the other to all the world beſides; for theſe conceſſions, evidently to the diſadvantage of England, a return was expected, of a fair and equal aſſiſtance to the empire at large, an aſſiſtance by a revenue ariſing out of the very benefits Ireland was to receive.

Theſe are the general circumſtances of the treaty, and I beg leave to ſay, they could not be conſidered but as propoſitions which might ſtand in the ſettlement or not. Though they were fair and liberal, I could have wiſhed them ſtill more liberal—I could have wiſhed that every ſort of diſtinction between the two countries was wiped away, and a full and free community of rights and of commerce eſtabliſhed between them; but as circumſtances render that impracticable, it is neceſſary to look out for ſomething near it, and this ſyſtem is the beſt that has yet been deviſed.

It is very eaſy to account for the alarm with which the ſyſtem naturally was received in England, every man will conſider his own intereſts with great partiality; from which circumſtance the ſituation of the miniſter became extremely diſagreeable. He could not avoid hearing numberleſs complaints againſt the ſyſtem. Beſides the prejudices of manufacturers, he had a ſtrong party to contend with—a party that put the ſtrongeſt of all difficulties in the way of removing the prejudices of England, by declaring that they alone ſtood up for the intereſt of Great Britain, and that they never would conſent to grant any further commercial benefits to this country. The miniſter reſiſted more than he gave up; for had he conceded all the points which they deſired, it would have been a very different ſyſtem indeed. We

We ought, however, to look upon the whole in a liberal point of view. It is impoſſible to enter into the detail before we have fixed the general principle; and though it may ſeem in ſome points to depart from the letter of the propoſitions, yet it perfectly agrees with their ſpirit and intention. The circumſtance which has gone far to deprive us of calm debate on this ſubject is, the increaſe of the reſolutions from eleven to twenty; and this is the great boaſt of oppoſition, that in cauſing the alteration they have ſo perplexed them, as to make them an object of diſcontent in this country, without allaying the diſcontent of the other.

It has been ſaid, that the conditions introduced into the reſolutions are inconſiſtent with the conſtitution of Ireland: I truſt it will be ſeen they are not. Conditions, indeed, were propoſed to be added, that would have left the country no conſtitution at all; but as to conditions, I ſhall introduce none not fairly and juſtly ariſing from the ſyſtem, and perfectly conſiſtent with the conſtitution.

The ſyſtem I ſhall produce ſhall not differ from that of 1780, except in the extent or the benefits. The object is, that this country ſhall enjoy all commercial advantages on the ſame principle ſhe enjoys the colony trade; and if it is admitted that the ſettlement under which ſhe enjoys that trade, does not infringe upon her conſtitution, the preſent ſettlement muſt ſtand clear of that imputation. The principle is this, that ſo long as Ireland ſhall chooſe to retain the advantages of the commercial treaty, ſhe ſhall condition to regulate her trade by ſuch laws as the trade of England is regulated by, and whenever ſhe chooſes to give up the benefit, the condition expires of courſe. In ſaying this, I have no idea of weakening the permanency of the ſettlement; becauſe I am convinced both countries will receive ſo much advantage from it, that they will wiſh to make it eternal: habit will confirm what ſpeculation firſt formed, and affecti-

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on will ſtrengthen the whole. I do therefore invite the country to conſider this ſettlement, convinced as I am, that the more it is underſtood the more it will be approved, but the terror of its being irrevocable ariſes from the moſt unfounded of all the miſapprehenſions that have yet taken place; ſo far from binding you for ever, it can only bind you while you find it your intereſt, for many of the bills which will be formed upon it, coming annually under your conſideration, you will have annual opportunities of rejecting them.

As to the reſolution propoſed yeſterday, I can have no objection to it, if the Houſe ſhall think it neceſſary; but I truſt that a clauſe or two of the bill which I ſhall ſtate to the Houſe will take off any apprehenſion as to conſtitution; if not, though I think them unneceſſary, I can have no heſitation to ſatisfy ſcruples which are ſo very honourable to thoſe who feel them. The object of thoſe clauſes is to ſhew upon record, that parliament neither intend, nor have it in their power to relinquiſh the ſmalleſt portion of the nation's legiſlative independence; alſo to ſhew in what manner it ſhall be known when this nation ſhall conſider the ſettlement as infringed; and as ſome partiality towards England might be ſuppoſed to reſt with the miniſters of the crown, that queſtion is left to the deciſion of the two Houſes of Parliament in Ireland."

Here Mr. Orde read the following clauſes:

"And whereas no law made by the preſent parliament "can, or ought to limit or reſtrain the free and unqueſtioned exerciſe of the diſcretion of any ſucceeding parliaments, "who muſt be competent equally, as in the preſent, to every act of legiſlation whatever, and to deliberate upon, "enact, or decline to enact, any of the regulations or proviſions to be conſidered as eſſential and fundamental conditions of this ſettlement.

"And

"And whereas the continuance of the preſent ſettlement "muſt depend on the due obſervance, in both kingdoms, of "the ſeveral matters herein declared to be fundamental and "eſſential conditions thereof, according to their true intent, "ſpirit and meaning,

"Be it declared, that the continuance of the preſent ſet- "tlement, and the duration of this act, and of every thing "herein contained, ſhall depend upon the due obſervance, "in the kingdom of Great Britain, of the ſeveral matters "herein declared to be fundamental and eſſential conditi- "ons of the ſaid ſettlement according to the true intent, "meaning and ſpirit thereof.

"Provided, nevertheleſs, that all the ſaid fundamental "and eſſential conditions ſhall in all times be held and deem- "ed to be, and to have been duly obſerved in the kingdom "of Great Britain, unleſs it ſhall have been expreſsly declar- "ed by a joint addreſs of both houſes of parliament of this "kingdom to his Majeſty, that the ſame have not been duly "obſerved."

I ſhall now in the moſt conciſe manner poſſible, take a view of the eleven propoſitions of this parliament, in order to ſhew that the bill which I ſhall introduce is founded upon them. If there be any difference, it is merely in the form, but not at all in ſubſtance. The firſt reſolution is,

Reſolved, "That it is the opinion of this committee, "that it is highly important to the general intereſt of the "Britiſh empire, that the trade between Great Britain and "Ireland be encouraged and extended as much as poſſible; "and for that purpoſe that the intercourſe and commerce be "finally ſettled and regulated on permanent and equitable "principles, for the mutual benefit of both countries."

It contains merely a general declaration, and is compriſed in the title of the bill.

The

The ſecond reſolves, "That towards carrying into full "effect ſo deſirable a ſettlement, it is fit and proper that all "articles, not the growth or manufacture of Great Britain "or Ireland, ſhould be imported into each kingdom from "the other reciprocally, under the ſame regulations, and "at the ſame duties, if ſubject to duties, to which they are "liable when imported directly from the place of their growth "produce or manufacture; and that all duties originally paid "on importation into either countries reſpectively, ſhall be "fully drawn back on exportation to the other."

The bill carries this propoſition into full effect, except with regard to Eaſt India goods, which in another place it alſo provides for; there are ſome exceptions with regard to ſmuggling, but they are ſo clear, that they explain themſelves. The third, which reſpects the trade in native productions, is,

Reſolved, "That for the ſame purpoſe it is proper that no "prohibition ſhould exiſt in either country againſt the im- "portation, uſe or ſale of any article, the growth, product or "manufacture of the other; and that the duty on the im- "portation of every ſuch article, if ſubject to duty in either "country, ſhould be preciſely the ſame in the one country "as in the other, except where an addition may be neceſſary "in either country, in conſequence of an internal duty on "any ſuch article of its own conſumption."

The bill propoſes to carry into effect this propoſition, with a ſingle exception, with regard to flour and meal, and with ſome prohibition to prevent ſmuggling.

The fourth propoſes, "That in all cauſes where the duties "on articles of the growth, product, or manufacture of "either country are different on the importation into the "other, it would be expedient that they ſhould be reduced "in the kingdom where they are the higheſt to the amount

"payable

" payable in the other; and that all ſuch articles ſhould be " exportable from the kingdom into which they ſhall be im- " ported as free from duty as the ſimilar commodities or home " manufacture of the ſame kingdom."

This I would for the preſent leave ſubject to the future diſcuſſion of the Houſe. It is however neceſſary that we ſhould fix upon ſome certain period at which the rates of duties ſhould be taken, and to me no time appears ſo proper as that when in conſequence of the declaration of the freedom of the conſtitution of Ireland, a reſolution was paſſed in Great Britain, that it was indiſpenſable to the intereſt and happineſs of both kingdoms that the connexion between them ſhould be eſtabliſhed upon a ſolid and permanent footing; this was on the 17th of May, 1782; it had no doubt a commercial object in view, and from that period I think it fair to ſtate the duties. Ten and an half per cent, has been ſpoken of as a proper countervailing duty, but I would propoſe that commiſſioners ſhould be appointed to adjuſt and prepare the proper countervailing duties—that they ſhould report to this Houſe the grounds on which they form their opinion, and that the Houſe ſhould finally determine upon a fair principle of equality between the two countries.

The fifth propoſition reſolves, " That for the ſame pur- " poſe it is alſo proper that in all caſes where either kingdom " ſhall charge articles of its own conſumption with an inter- " nal duty on the manufacture, or a duty on the material, " the ſame manufacture, when imported from the other, " may be charged with a farther duty on importation to the " ſame amount adequate to countervail the duty on the ma- " terial; and ſhall be intitled to ſuch drawbacks or bounties " on exportation as may leave the ſame ſubject to no heavier " burden than the home made manufacture; ſuch farther " duty to continue ſo long only as the internal conſumption " ſhall

" ſhall be charged with the duty or duties to balance which " it ſhall be impoſed, or until the manufacture coming from " the other kingdom ſhall be ſubjected there to an equal " burden, not drawn back or compenſated on exportation."

This I propoſe to carry into effect.

The ſixth reſolves, " That in order to give permanency to " the ſettlement now intended to be eſtabliſhed, it is neceſſary " that no prohibition, or new or additional duties ſhould be " hereafter impoſed in either kingdom on the importation of " any article of the growth, product or manufacture of the " other, except ſuch additional duties as may be requiſite to " balance duties on internal conſumption, purſuant to the " foregoing reſolution."

This I would alſo propoſe to carry into effect.

The ſeventh reſolves, " That for the ſame purpoſe it is " neceſſary farther that no prohibitions, or new or additional " duties, ſhould be hereafter impoſed in either kingdom on " the exportation of any article of native growth, product or " manufacture, from thence to the other, except ſuch as " either kingdom my deem expedient from time to time up- " on corn, meal, flour and biſcuits; and alſo except where " there now exiſts any prohibition which is not reciprocal, " or any duty which is not equal in both kingdoms; in every " ſuch caſe the prohibition may be made reciprocal, or the " duties raiſed ſo as to make them equal."

Now, Sir, I am fair to own, that in this caſe I ſhall propoſe an alteration, which at its firſt appearance may ſeem to depart from that equality which is the principle on which we act, but will upon a moment's reflection be found perfectly conſiſtent with juſtice, upon which principle I truſt the houſe will

will be induced to agree to it. The object to which I allude, is the exportation of wool and woollen yarn from Ireland to England, while the export of the ſame articles from England to Ireland is prohibited. But when we conſider that this very reſolution for ever guards the exportation of our linens to Gt. Britain, duty free, on ſeveral ſpecies of raw materials abſolutely neceſſary to the manufactures of this country; when I ſay England is ready to give up ſo much in favour of our manufactures in general, and particularly of our ſtaple manufacture, Ireland, I am ſure, will not think it hard to make ſome conceſſion to favour the ſtaple manufacture of Britain; but even were that out of the queſtion, from every thing I have heard, I am convinced it would be injurious to this country to prohibit the export of yarn.

The eighth propoſition reſolves, "That for the ſame purpoſe it is neceſſary that on bounties whatſoever ſhould be paid or payable in either kingdom on the exportation of any article to the other, except ſuch as relate to corn, meal, flour and biſcuits, and ſuch as are in the nature of drawbacks, or compenſation for duties paid; and that no bounty ſhould be granted in this kingdom on the exportation of any article imported from the Britiſh plantations, or any manufacture made of ſuch article, unleſs in caſe where a ſimilar bounty is payable in Britain on exportation from thence, or where ſuch bounty is merely in the nature of a drawback, or compenſation of, or duties paid, over and and above any duty paid thereon in Britain."

This ſecures many material advantages to Ireland. The ſupply of coals, ſalt, hops, bark and ſeveral other articles, is of the higheſt importance to her manufactures, fiſheries, and proviſion trade. I would therefore introduce the eighth reſolution in the bill as a fundamental condition.

The ninth propoſition reſolves, "That it is expedient for "the

" the general benefit of the Britiſh empire, that the impor-
" tation of articles from foreign ſtates ſhould be regulated
" from time to time in each kingdom, on ſuch terms as may
" afford an effectual preference to the importation of ſimilar
" articles of the growth, produce or manufactures of the
" other."

This gives an additional ſecurity to our linen manufacture. When this propoſition becomes law, we ſhall have nothing to fear from the cheapneſs of the Ruſſian or German linens; ours muſt have an effectual preference in the Britiſh markets, as indeed muſt all our manufactures over thoſe in foreign countries.

The tenth propoſition reſpects the internal œconomy of finance.

Reſolved, " That it is eſſential to the commercial intereſts
" of this country to prevent, as much as poſſible, an accu-
" mulation of national debt; and that therefore it is high-
" ly expedient that the annual revenues of this kingdom
" ſhould be made equal to its annual expences."

The eleventh reſolves, " That for the better protection of
" trade, whatever ſum the groſs hereditary revenue of this
" kingdom (after deducting all drawbacks, repayments or
" bounties granted in the nature of drawbacks) ſhall produce
" over and above the ſum of 656,000l. in each year of peace,
" wherein the annual expence, and in the year of war, with-
" out regard to ſuch equality, ſhould be appropriated towards
" the ſupport of the naval force of the empire, in ſuch man-
" ner as the parliament of this kingdom ſhall direct."

Gentlemen will remember, this was an additional reſoluti-
on not originally propoſed by me; it is however of material conſequence in this country, and naturally connected with the

the ſyſtem, nor can any thing more convince me of the benefits of it, than that this ſhould be one of the firſt conſequences; it does credit to the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Grattan) who ſuggeſted it, and I take this opportunity of ſaying in alluſion to ſomething which fell from him the other day, that there is in this a pledge given for the abſolute performance of every part of thoſe propoſitions.

I cannot avoid taking notice of ſomething which dropped in the Houſe the other day, upon the ſubject of the propoſition now before us: It was ſaid that it had been diſcuſſed on the other ſide, and being found too favourable to Ireland was rejected, and the original tenth reſolution ſubſtituted in its place—I declare that no ſuch circumſtance happened, and I hope the honourable gentleman who ſaid it did, will allow me to intimate to him that he received his information from ſome quarter not thoroughly informed on the ſubject. The queſtion never was objected to in that reſpect, but as there was a difficulty in wording the reſolution, it was thought adviſable to refer to this country for an explanation of its own propoſition in the bill.

I beg leave to mention another circumſtance to the Houſe, which is, that after the bill ſhall be formed, it is my wiſh that nothing ſhould be conſidered as complete on either ſide, until a mutual declaration of ſatisfaction ſhall have paſſed in both parliaments, that is, that the bill which paſſes in Great Britain on this occaſion ſhould not have the force of law till the Iriſh parliament ſhall have declared their ſatisfaction at it; nor ſhall the bill which paſſed here have the force of law, till the Engliſh parliament have declared their ſatisfaction; by this means to the very laſt moment there will be opportunity to remove or arrange any difficulty which may ariſe after the diſcuſſion of the bill.

With regard to the colony trade, I would propoſe that we ſhould

ſhould be bound to carry it on under laws ſimilar to thoſe which Great Britain has or may think proper to adopt for that purpoſe, that is, upon the ſame terms that Great Britain herſelf trades to her colonies, with perhaps ſome few exceptions, chiefly relative to rum; for as the colony trade was a free gift from Great Britain to this country, ſhe had an undoubted right to condition on what terms ſhe would impart it, and ſurely no ſtipulation could be more liberal, than that Ireland ſhould enjoy it as Great Britain does; ſo long therefore as Ireland retains the benefit, it is juſt ſhe ſhould fulfil the condition.

Gentlemen will recollect that in 1780, when a participation in the colony trade was granted to Ireland, America was a colony of Great Britain; circumſtances have ſince altered, and America is now with reſpect to both countries a foreign ſtate. Many efforts were made to force the miniſter on the other ſide to attempt regulating your foreign trade; I mention this, becauſe doubts have been entertained, that the principle of trading under laws ſimilar to thoſe by which Great Britain regulates her colony trade, is to be extended to foreign trade, which is not at all the caſe; it never was an object of the ſettlement to interfere with the foreign trade of this country, but where articles could be had from a colony ſimilar to thoſe produced in a foreign ſtate, that preference ſhould be given to the colony, therefore the general queſtion of ſubjecting all articles of the American ſtates to an equal duty upon importation into Ireland as when imported into Great Britain, was entirely rejected; this country is clearly entitled to trade with the foreign ſtates of America, and all other foreign ſtates, upon ſuch terms as ſhe ſhall think proper; but as there are ſeveral articles that we may have from the colonies, but which have been uſually imported from the ſtates of America, it is but reaſonable in a ſettlement of this kind, that care ſhould be taken to give our own colonies a preference over foreign ſtates; I will therefore propoſe that

with regard to thoſe articles, viz. oil, whale-fins, peltry, &c. &c. the ſame rules of impoſing duties which are obſerved in Great Britain, ſhall alſo be obſerved in Ireland; at the ſame time I beg it may be underſtood, that miniſters never had an idea of interfering with the queſtion of the fair and full right of your conſtitution; this is a matter propoſed ſimply as a condition of the ſettlement, and which it is expected Ireland will perform, ſo long as ſhe thinks it worth her while to enjoy the benefit of the ſettlement; but if the benefits of the ſettlement ſhall appear leſs to her than thoſe of trading with foreign ſtates in articles wherein they rival the colonies, ſhe may refrain from enacting the particular condition; ſhe has power to do it; though I never will give up the idea of this being a perfect and permanent ſettlement, becauſe it is founded on mutual benefit, I truſt it will long continue to their common advantage.

There is an article of material conſequence to this country, I mean ſail cloth, with regard to which I ſhall propoſe to remove the diſtinction that now exiſts, and to enable the furniſhing of Britiſh veſſels with Iriſh ſail cloth, it being hereafter to be deemed and taken as Britiſh. There is another exception I would propoſe, it is upon a favourite and valuable object to this country, it is that linen and proviſions ſhall for ever hereafter be exempt from duty, when exported to the colonies.

In paſſing over the various objects that now occur for condition, I am led to mention two or three of leſs importance than any I have yet noticed, I mean copy rights and patents; I do not mean to propoſe any thing relative to them, unleſs the country ſhould think the ſame regulations neceſſary here with reſpect to them, that have been adopted in Great Britain.

There is another object with reſpect to fiſheries; I would propoſe

propoſe that the fiſheries ſhould be equally open to both countries, and that the ſubjects of either country ſhould have full liberty to fiſh upon the coaſts of the other.

The laſt object of adjuſtment with which I ſhall trouble the Houſe, relates to the Eaſt India trade. It was intended to put this trade on the ſame footing as the trade to the weſtern colonies, but a moment's conſideration ſhewed the neceſſity of paying due reſpect to the charter of the Eaſt India company; I ſhall therefore propoſe in the bill to adjuſt this matter in ſuch a way, that Ireland may be entitled to all the benefits that Great Britain herſelf can enjoy, and ſo long as the trade ſhall remain confined to the port of London, ſo long ſhall both countries ſtand on the ſame footing; but in caſe of the expiration of the charter, the Eaſt-Indies ſhall be conſidered as the other colonies of Great Britain, to which Ireland may trade as freely as Britain herſelf does; in the mean time the conſequence of this will be of very material advantage to this country, for it is my intention to propoſe that the prohibition to export goods from this country to the Eaſt Indies be taken off, and that ſhe ſhall be allowed to export every article to the Eaſt Indies that Great Britain now can, but in the ſame manner; that is, that the Eaſt India company may be at liberty to furniſh their ſhips in Ireland with every article that Ireland can ſupply; and I am not afraid to ſay that the advantages muſt be more conſiderable to Ireland than any ideal advantage they could derive from carrying on an Eaſt India trade in a manner ſeparate and diſtinct from Great Britain.

I believe I have now gone through every thing I intended to trouble the houſe with; I am conſcious I have done it very imperfectly, and have given much more trouble than I ought to have done, in taking up your time by anticipation. My wiſh was to ſtate the principles of the bill, and I am convinced that the bill itſelf will demonſtrate how highly advantage-

ous it muſt prove to this country, and will ſhew to the ſatisfaction of every man, that full regard is had to the conſtitutional and legiſlative rights of Ireland in every caſe whatſoever. It is with this view, and in order to ſhew that it does not depart from the ſpirit of Mr. Yelverton's bill, but takes up the ſubject of commercial benefits on a more enlarged ſcale, and much more to the advantage of Ireland, that I now beg leave to read ſome of its clauſes.

"And whereas by an act paſſed in this kingdom, in the 21ſt "and 22d years of the reign of his preſent Majeſty, intitled, "an act for extending certain of the proviſions contained in an "act intitled an act for confirming all the ſtatutes made in "England, reciting that it is the earneſt and affectionate de"ſire, as well as the true intereſt of his Majeſty's ſubjects of "this kingdom, to promote, as far as in them lies, the navigati"on, trade, and commercial intereſts of Great Britain, as "well as Ireland, and that a ſimilarity of laws, manners and "cuſtoms muſt naturally conduce to ſtrengthen and perpetu"ate that affection and harmony which do, and ought at all "times to ſubſiſt between the people of Great Britain and "Ireland, it is enacted that all ſuch clauſes and proviſions "contained in any ſtatutes made in England or Great Britain, "concerning commerce, as import or impoſe equal reſtraints "on the ſubjects of England and Ireland, and entitle them "to equal benefit, and alſo ſuch clauſes and proviſions con"tained in any ſtatute made as aforeſaid, as equally concern "the ſeamen of England and Ireland, or of Great Britain "and Ireland, ſave ſo far as the ſame have been altered or "repealed, ſhould be accepted, uſed and executed in this "kingdom according to the preſent tenor thereof reſpec"tively.

"In order therefore to carry into further effect, the earn"eſt and affectionate deſire of his Majeſty's ſubjects in this "kingdom, to promote the navigation, trade and commerci-

"al

" al intereſt of both kingdoms; and in order to provide
" for ſecuring to the ſubjects of both, a full and equal enjoy-
" ment in all times to come of the excluſive privileges of the
" trade and navigation of the empire.

" Be it declared by, &c. That it ſhall be held and adjudg-
" ed to be a fundamental and eſſential condition of the pre-
" ſent ſettlement, that all privileges, advantages and immuni-
" ties, which are now, or may hereafter may be enjoyed, by
" ſhips built in Great Britain, or by ſhips belonging to his
" Majeſty's ſubjects reſiding in Great Britain, or by ſhips
" manned by Britiſh ſeamen, or by ſhips manned by certain
" proportions of Britiſh ſeamen, ſhall, to all intents and pur-
" poſes whatever, be enjoyed in the ſame manner, and under
" the ſame regulations and reſtrictions reſpectively, by ſhips
" built in Ireland, or by ſhips belonging to any of his Majeſty's
" ſubjects reſiding in Ireland, or by ſhips manned by Britiſh
" ſeamen, or by ſhips manned by certain proportions of
" Britiſh ſeamen. And that all laws which ſhall hereafter
" be enacted by the parliament of Great Britain for ſecuring
" excluſive privileges, advantages and immunities to the ſhips
" and mariners of Great Britain, and of the Britiſh colonies,
" ſettlements and plantations, ſhall ſecure the ſame privileges,
" advantages and immunities, in all reſpects; and in as full
" and ample manner to the ſhips and mariners of Ireland,
" as to the ſhips and mariners of Great Britain, and of the
" Britiſh colonies, ſettlements and plantations; and that
" ſuch laws ſhall from time to time be enacted by the
" parliament of Ireland (which is alone competent to bind
" the people of Ireland in any caſe whatever) as ſhall be
" neceſſary for confirming and ſecuring ſuch excluſive
" privileges, in the ſame manner, and under the ſame re-
" ſtraints and regulations in Ireland, as in Great Britain, to
" the ſhips and mariners of Great Britain, Ireland and the
" Britiſh colonies, ſettlements and plantations.

" And

" And be it declared, that it ſhall be held and adjudged to " be a fundamental and eſſential condition of the preſent " ſettlement, that Iriſh ſail-cloth ſhall be deemed Britiſh, " within the meaning of any act, reſpecting the furniſhing of " ſhips therewith, and be entitled to equal preference or ad- " vantages as Britiſh, for the uſe of the Britiſh navy."

But this, ſaid Mr. Orde, it appears that the intention is to impart to Ireland a full ſhare in all the advantages of commerce, and over and above, to encourage a very valuable branch of manufacture.

To ſhew the footing on which the Eaſt India and plantation trade is hereafter to ſtand, he read the following extract from the bill for regulating that trade.

" Clauſe 17. " And be it further declared and enacted, " that it ſhall be held and adjudged to be a fundamental and " eſſential condition of the preſent ſettlement, that the peo- " ple of this kingdom now and at all times to come, ſhall have " the benefit of trading to and from the Britiſh colonies and " plantations in the Weſt Indies and America, and to and " from the Britiſh ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, and in " all articles of their growth, produce, or manufacture, in as " full and ample manner as the people of Great Britain; and " ſhall likewiſe have the benefit of trading in the like ample " manner to and from all ſuch colonies, ſettlements, and " plantations, which Great Britain may hereafter acquire or " eſtabliſh; and alſo to and from ſuch Britiſh ſettlements as " may exiſt in the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, " to the Streights of Magellan, whenever the commerce to " the ſaid countries ſhall ceaſe to be carried on by an exclu- " ſive company, having liberty to import into the port of " London only, and therefore that the commerce to and " from the ſaid colonies, plantations, and ſettlements, under " the like regulations, reſtrictions, and prohibitions, as be-

" tween

" tween Great Britain and the ſaid colonies, plantations and
" ſettlements, and ſo that all articles imported from the ſaid
" colonies, plantations, and ſettlements, into Ireland, ſhall be
" made ſubject to the ſame duties as the like articles are, or
" from time to time ſhall be ſubject to an importation into
" Great Britain; and that all articles exported from Ireland
" to any of the ſaid colonies, plantations and ſettlements,
" may be made liable to ſuch duties, and entitled to ſuch
" drawbacks only, and put under ſuch regulations as may be
" neceſſary, in order that the ſame may not be exported with
" leſs duties or impoſitions than the like articles ſhall be
" burthened with when exported from Great Britain; and
" that the importation of the articles of the growth, produce
" or manufacture of the ſaid colonies, plantations and ſettle-
" ments in America, the Weſt Indies, and the coaſt of Africa,
" ſhall be favoured by this kingdom in as full and ample
" manner as by Great Britain, againſt the interference of
" ſimilar articles from foreign colonies; and that the importa-
" tion of ſuch articles of the growth, produce or manufacture
" of any Britiſh colonies or ſettlements beyond the Cape of
" Good Hope, to the Streights of Magellan, ſhall be favoured
" in like manner as by Great Britain, againſt the interference
" of ſimilar articles from any country beyond the ſaid Cape
" to the ſaid Streights. And be it therefore enacted, that
" ſuch perſons to be appointed as aforeſaid, ſhall prepare a
" like ſchedule or ſchedules of ſuch duties, prohibitions and
" regulations, as may now be neceſſary for the ſaid purpoſe,
" reſpecting the Britiſh colonies and plantations, the Weſt
" Indias and America, and to the Britiſh ſettlements on the
" coaſt of Africa, to be laid before the Houſe of Commons of
" this kingdom in the next ceſſion of parliament, or as ſoon
" after as conveniently may be.

Clauſe 18, " Provided always, and it is hereby declared
" and enacted, that it is not eſſential to, nor is it intended by
" the preſent ſettlement that any duty ſhould at any time be
" impoſed

" impoſed on the exportation of linens or proviſions from " this kingdom to any Britiſh colony, plantation or ſettle- " ment, or any additionalduty on the importation into this " kingdom of rum from any ſuch colony, plantation or ſettle- " ment, or of any material of manufacture which is now or " may hereafter be allowed to be imported duty free, into " either kingdom.

Clauſe 19, " And be it declared, that it ſhall be held and " adjudged to be a fundamental condition of the preſent ſettle- " ment, that all rum, peltry, whale-fins, or oil imported " from the countries belonging to the United States of Ame- " rica, or as the produce of fiſheries carried on by the ſaid " States, ſhall be ſubject to the ſame duties on importation " into this kingdom, as the ſame are or may be ſubject to on " importation in like manner into Great Britain. And be it " enacted, that the perſons to be appointed as aforeſaid, ſhall " prepare a ſchedule or ſchedules of ſuch duties as may be " now neceſſary to be impoſed for that purpoſe, and lay the " ſame before the Houſe of Commons of this kingdom on " the firſt day of the next ceſſion of parliament, or as ſoon " after as conveniently may be."

Having now diſcharged my duty with reſpect to the bill, I cannot ſit down without making my moſt grateful acknowledgements to the Houſe for the very kind attention with which they have heard me, notwithſtanding the diſadvantages I have laboured under from indiſpoſition and the preſſure of the buſineſs; which, added to the nature of the bill itſelf, neceſſarily compelled me to appear very heavy and very tedious. I ſhall now move for leave to bring in the bill, and if leave ſhall be granted, my next ſtep will be to lay the ſyſtem before the public in the moſt explicit manner; and to collect every information for this purpoſe, I have my Lord Lieutenant's commands to lay before the Houſe copies of the proceedings of the Britiſh parliament; copies of the addreſs, and a variety

variety of other papers, which I hope the Houſe will indulge me in giving to-morrow morning in ſchedule. I would then wiſh to circulate the bill through every part of the kingdom, and after having adjourned ſo long as to give the moſt ample opportunity for deliberation, again meet here, and receive every petition which may be preſented, and examine every evidence which may appear upon this great ſubject.

Mr. Orde's motion for leave to bring in his propoſed bill was ſeconded by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The argument againſt this meaſure may be pretty fully collected from the following ſpeech of Mr. Grattan.

Mr. Grattan.—"Sir, I can excuſe the right honourable member who moves you for leave to bring in the bill. He is an Engliſhman, and contends for the power of his own country, while I am contending for the liberty of mine; he might have ſpared himſelf the trouble of ſtating his own bill. I read it before, I read it in the twenty reſolutions, I read it in the Engliſh bill, which is to all intents and purpoſes the ſame; and which he might read without the trouble of reſorting to his own. His comment is of little moment; a Lord Lieutenant's Secretary is an unſafe commentator on an Iriſh conſtitution; the former merit of the right honourable gentleman in preſſing for the original propoſitions and contending againſt the preſent, which he now ſupports, may have been very great, and I am willing to think him for his paſt ſervices; they may be a private conſolation to himſelf. No more.—I differ from him in his account of this tranſaction. He was pledged to his eleven propoſitions; his offer was the propoſitions; ours the taxes; he took the latter, but forgets the former. I leave both, and come to his ſyſtem. Here it becomes neceſſary to go back a little.—I begin with your free trade obtained in 1779: By that you recovered your right to trade with every part of the world, whoſe ports were open to you, ſubject to your own unſtipulated duties, the

the Britiſh plantations only excepted; by that you obtained the benefit of your inſular ſituation, the benefit of your weſtern ſituation, and the benefit of your exemption from intolerable taxes. What theſe advantages might be, no man could ſay, but any man who had ſeen the ſtruggle you had made during a century of depreſſion, could foreſee, that a ſpirit of induſtry operating upon a ſtate of liberty in a young nation, muſt in the courſe of time produce ſignal advantages —the ſea is like the earth, to non-exertion, a waſte; to induſtry, a mine; this trade was accompanied with another, a plantation trade: in this, you retained your right to trade directly with the Britiſh plantations in a variety of articles, without a reference to Britiſh duties; by this, you obtained a right to trade with the Britiſh plantations directly in each and every other article, ſubject to the rate of Britiſh duty; by this, you obtained a right to ſelect the article, ſo that the general trade ſhould not hang on the ſpecial conformity; and by this, you did not covenant to affect, exclude, or poſtpone the produce of foreign plantations—The reaſon was obvious, you demanded two things, a free trade and a plantation trade; had the then miniſter inſiſted on a covenant to exclude the produce of foreign plantations, he had given you a plantation trade inſtead of a free trade, (whereas your demand was both) and his grant had been inadequate, unſatisfactory and inadmiſſible—Theſe points of trade being ſettled, a third in the opinion of ſome remained; namely, the intercourſe with England or the channel trade—A ſucceſsful political campaign, an unſucceſsful harveſt, the poverty of not a few, together with the example of England, brought forward, in the year 1783, a number of famiſhing manufacturers with a demand of protecting duties; the extent of their demand was idle, the manner of conveying that demand tumultuary; but not being wholly reſiſted nor yet adequately aſſiſted, they laid the foundation of another plan, which made its appearance in 1785, oppoſite indeed to their wiſhes and fatal to their expectation; this was the ſyſtem of reciprocity; a ſyſtem

fair

fair in its principles, and in proceſs of time likely to be beneficial, but not likely to be of any great preſent advantage, other than by ſtopping the growth of demand, allaying a commercial fever, and producing ſettlement and incorporation, with the people of England; this ſyſtem was founded on the only principle which could obtain between two independent nations, equality, and the equality conſiſted in ſimilarity of duty; now as the total abatement of duties on both ſides had driven the Iriſhman out of his own market, as the raiſing our duties on the Britiſh ſtandard had driven the Engliſhman out of the Iriſh market, a third method was reſorted to, the abatement of Britiſh duty to the Iriſh ſtandard: but then this equality of duty was inequality of trade, for as the Engliſhman with that duty againſt him had beaten you in the Iriſh market, with that duty in his favour he muſt keep you out of the Engliſh: ſo that under this arrangement the Engliſh manufacturer continued protected, and the Iriſh manufacturer continued expoſed, and the abatement of duty was no more than diſarming the argument of retaliation. Had the arrangement ſtopped here, it had been unjuſt indeed, but as Ireland was to covenant that ſhe would not raiſe her duties on Britiſh manufactures, England on her part was to covenant, that ſhe would not diminiſh her preference in favour of Iriſh linen, and the adjuſtment amounted to a covenant, that neither country in their reſpective markets would affect the manufacture of the other by any operative alteration of duty; however, the adjuſtment did not ſtop at the home manufacture, it went to plantation-produce, and here you ſtood on two grounds, law and juſtice; law, becauſe you only, deſired that the ſame words of the ſame act of navigation ſhould have the ſame conſtruction on one ſide the channel as they have on the other; how they had ever borne a different one, I cannot conceive, otherwiſe than by ſuppoſing that in your ancient ſtate of dependency you were not intitled to the common benefit of the mother tongue; the anſwer to this

argument

argument was unſatisfactory, that England had altered the law, but if England had ſo altered the law, it ceaſed to impoſe the ſame reſtrictions and confer the ſame advantages, and then a doubt might ariſe whether the act of navigation was the law of Ireland, ſo that you ſeemed entitled to the conſtruction or free from the act; now it is of more conſequence to England that you ſhould be bound by the act of navigation, than to Ireland to have the benefit of the fair conſtruction of it. But you ſtood on ſtill better ground, juſtice; was it juſt that you ſhould receive plantation goods from England, and that England ſhould not receive them from you? here if you do not find the law equal, you may make it ſo; for as yet you are a free parliament.

I leave this part of the ſubject; equality of duty but no preſent equality of trade. I come to that part of the adjuſtment which is inequality of both;—and firſt, that part which relates to the primum of your manufactures. When the original propoſitions were argued, gentlemen exclaimed, "England reſerves her wool, and Ireland does not reſerve her woollen yarn," it was anſwered, "Ireland may if ſhe pleaſes," what will thoſe gentlemen now ſay, when England reſerves both;—the primum of her manufactures, and of yours; and not only woollen yarn but linen yarn, hides, &c.? To tell me that this exportation is beneficial to Ireland, is to tell me nothing; the queſtion is not about ſtopping the export, but giving up the regulation, in inſtances where England retains the power of regulation, and the act of prohibition. To tell me, that this exportation is neceſſary for England, is to tell me nothing, but that you are material to England, and therefore ſhould have obtained at leaſt equal terms. I own, to aſſiſt the manufactures of Great Britain as far as is not abſolutely inconſiſtent with thoſe of Ireland, is to me an object; but ſtill the difference recurs, ſhe is not content with voluntary accommodation on your part, but exacts perpetual

petual export from you in the very article, in which ſhe retains abſolute prohibition—no new prohibition—every prohibition beneficial to England was laid before—none in favour of Ireland. Ireland till 1779 was a province, and every province is a victim; your provincial ſtate ceaſed, but before the provincial regulations are done away, this arrangement eſtabliſhes a principle of *uti poſſidetis*, that is, Great Britain ſhall retain all her advantages, and Ireland ſhall retain all her diſadvantages. But I leave this part of the adjuſtment where reciprocity is diſclaimed in the outſet of treaty and the rudiment of manufacture; I come to inſtances of more ſtriking inequality, and firſt, your ſituation in the Eaſt. You are to give a monopoly to the preſent or any future Eaſt India Company during its exiſtence, and to the Britiſh nation for ever after. It has been ſaid that the Iriſhman in this is in the ſame ſituation as the Engliſhman, but there is this difference, the difference between having, and not having the trade; the Britiſh Parliament has judged it moſt expedient for Great Britain to carry on her trade to the Eaſt, by an excluſive company; the Iriſh Parliament is now to determine it moſt expedient for Ireland to have no trade at all in theſe parts. This is not a ſurrender of the political rights of the conſtitution, but of the natural rights of man; not of the privileges of parliament, but of the rights of nations,—not to ſail beyond the Cape of Good Hope and the Streights of Magellan, an awful interdict! Not only European ſettlements, but neutral countries excluded, and God's providence ſhut out in the moſt opulent boundaries of creation; other interdicts go to particular places for local reaſons, becauſe they belong to certain European ſtates, but here are neutral regions forbidden and a path preſcribed to the Iriſhman on open ſea. Other interdicts go to a determinate period of time, but here is an eternity of reſtraint; you are to have no trade at all during the exiſtence of any company, and no free trade to thoſe countries after its expiration; this reſembles rather a judgment

judgment of God than an act of the legiſlature, whether you meaſure it by immenſity of ſpace or infinity of duration, and has nothing human about it except its preſumption.

"What you loſe by this ſurrender, what you forfeit by giving up the poſſibility of intercourſe with ſo great a proportion of the inhabited globe, I cannot preſume to ſay; but this I can ſay, that gentlemen have no right to argue from preſent want of capital againſt future trade, nor to give up their capacity to trade, becauſe they have not yet brought that capacity into action, ſtill leſs have they a right to do ſo without the ſhadow of compenſation, and leaſt of all on the affected compenſation which, triffling with your underſtanding as well as intereſt, ſuffers a veſſel to go to the Weſt, in its way to the Eaſt. I leave this uncompenſated ſurrender—I leave your ſituation in the Eaſt which is blank—I leave your ſituation in the Eaſt which is the ſurrender of trade itſelf; and I come to your ſituation in the Weſt which is a ſurrender of its freedom. You are to give a monopoly to the Britiſh plantations at their own taxes; before, you did ſo only in certain articles, with a power of ſelection, and then only as long as you pleaſed to conform to the condition, and without any ſtipulation to exclude foreign produce. It may be very proper to exclude foreign produce by your own temporary laws, and at your own free will and option, but now you are to covenant to do ſo for ever, and thereby you put the trade out of your own power for ever, and you give to the Engliſh, Weſt as well as Eaſt, an eternal monopoly for their plantation produce, in the taxing and regulating of which you have no ſort of deliberation or interference, and over which Great Britain has a complete ſupremacy. Here you will conſider the advantage you receive from that monopoly, and judge how far it may be expedient to ſet up againſt yourſelves that monopoly for ever; there is ſcarcely an article of the Britiſh plantation that is not out of all proportion dearer

dearer than the ſame article is in any other part of the globe, nor any other article that is not produced elſewhere; for ſome of which articles you might eſtabliſh a mart for your manufactures. Portugal, for inſtance, capable of being a better market for our drapery than Great Britain; this enormity of price is aggravated by an enormity of tax, what then is this covenant? to take theſe articles from the Britiſh plantations, and from none other, at the preſent high rates and taxes, and to take them at all times to come, ſubject to whatever further rates and taxes the parliament of Great Britain ſhall enact. Let me aſk you, why did you refuſe protecting duties to your own people? becauſe they looked like a monopoly; and will you give to the Eaſt India merchant, and the Weſt India planter ſomething more?—a monopoly where the monopoliſt is in ſome degree the law-giver.—The principle of equal duty or the ſame reſtriction is not the ſhadow of ſecurity; to make ſuch a principle applicable to the objects muſt be equal, but here the objects are not only diſſimilar but oppoſite; the condition of England is great debt and greater capital, great incumbrance, but ſtill greater abilities; the condition of Ireland, little capital, but a ſmall debt, poverty, but exemption from intolerable taxes. Equal burthens will have oppoſite effects, they will fund the debt of one country and deſtroy the trade of the other; high duties will take away your reſource, which is exemption from them; but will be a fund for Great Britain: thus the colony principle in its extent is dangerous to a very great degree. Suppoſe Great Britain ſhould raiſe the colony duties to a ſtill greater degree, to anſwer the exigency of ſome future war, or to fund her preſent debt, you muſt follow, for by this bill you would have no option in foreign trade; you muſt follow, not becauſe you wanted the tax, but leſt your exemption from taxes ſhould give your manufactures any comparative advantage. Iriſh taxes are to be precautions againſt the proſperity of Iriſh manufactures! You muſt follow becauſe your

your taxes here would be no longer meaſured by the wants of the country or the intereſt of her commerce, becauſe we ſhould have inſtituted a falſe meaſure of taxation; the wants and the riches of another country, which exceeds you much in wants, but infinitely more in riches. I fear we ſhould have done more; we ſhould have made Engliſh jealouſy the barometer of Iriſh taxes. Suppoſe this country ſhould in any degree eſtabliſh a direct trade with the Britiſh plantations, ſuppoſe the apprehenſions of the Britiſh manufacturers in any degree realized, they may dictate your duties, they may petition the Britiſh Parliament to raiſe certain duties, which ſhall not affect the articles of their intercourſe, but may ſtop yours; or, which ſhall affect the articles of their intercourſe a little and annihilate yours; thus they may by one and the ſame duty raiſe a revenue in England, and deſtroy a rival in Ireland. Camblets are an inſtance of the former, and every valuable plantation-import an inſtance of the latter; your option in foreign trade had been a reſtraint on England, or a reſource to Ireland, but under this adjuſtment you give up your foreign trade, and confine yourſelf to that which you muſt not preſume to regulate. The excluſion of foreign plantation-produce would ſeem ſufficient, for every purpoſe of power and domination; but to aggravate, and it would ſeem, to inſult, the independent States of North America are moſt ungraciouſly brought into this arrangement, as if Ireland was a Britiſh colony, or North America continued a part of the Britiſh dominion; by the reſolutions almoſt all the produce of North America was to be imported to Ireland, ſubject to Britiſh duties; the bill is more moderate, and only enumerates certain articles, but what right has Great Britain to interfere in our foreign trade, what right has ſhe to dictate to us on the ſubject of North America trade? How far this country may be further affected by clogging her plantation trade and ſurrendering her free trade, I ſhall not for the preſent ſtop more minutely to inquire, but I muſt ſtop to proteſt

teſt againſt one circumſtance in this arrangement, which ſhould not accompany any arrangement, which would be fatal to ſettlement itſelf, and tear aſunder the bands of faith and affection; the circumſtance I mean, is the opening of the ſettlements of the colony trade, and free trade of 1779: this adjuſtment takes from you the power of chooſing the article, ſo that the whole covenant hangs on the ſpecial circumſtance, and takes from you your option in the produce of foreign plantations, and even of America. It is a reviſion in peace of the ſettlements of war, it is a revocation in peace of the acquiſition of war. I here ask, by what authority? By what authority is Ireland obliged now to enter into a general account for paſt acquiſitions? Did the petition of the manufacturers deſire it? Did the addreſſes of the laſt ſeſſion deſire it? Did the miniſter in this ſeſſion ſuggeſt it? No; I call for authority, whereby we can be juſtified in waving the benefit of paſt treaties, and bringing the whole relative ſituation of this country into queſtion in an arrangement, which only profeſſes to ſettle her channel trade? I conceive the ſettlements of the laſt war are ſacred; you may make other ſettlements with the Britiſh nation, but you will never make any ſo beneficial as theſe are; they were the reſult of a conjuncture miraculouſly formed, and fortunately ſeized. The American war was the Iriſh harveſt. From that period, as from the lucky moment of your fate, your commerce, conſtitution, and mind took form and vigour; and to that period, and to a firſt and ſalient principle, muſt they recur for life and renovation.——It is therefore I conſider thoſe ſettlements as ſacred, and from them I am naturally led to that part of the ſubject which relates to compenſation, the payment which we are to make for the loſſes which we are to ſuſtain; certainly compenſation cannot apply to the free trade ſuppoſing it uninvaded, firſt, becauſe that trade was your right; to pay for the recovery of what you ſhould never have loſt, had been to a great degree unjuſt and derogatory; ſecondly, becauſe

that free trade was eſtabliſhed in 1779, and the ſettlement then cloſed and cannot be opened now; to do ſo were to deſtroy the faith of treaties, to make it idle to enter into the preſent ſettlement, and to render it vain to enter into any ſettlement with the Britiſh Miniſter. The ſame may be ſaid of the colony trade; that too was ſettled in 1779, on terms then ſpecified not now to be opened, clogged, conditioned or circumſcribed; ſtill leſs does compenſation apply to the free conſtitution of 1782. His Majeſty then informed you from the throne, "theſe things come unaccompanied with any ſtipulation,"—beſides, the free conſtitution, like the free trade, was your right. Freemen wont pay for the recovery of right; payment had derogated from the claim of right; ſo we then ſtated to miniſtry. It was then thought that to have annexed ſubſidy to conſtitution had been a barren experiment on public poverty, and had married an illuſtrious experiment on the feelings of the nation, and had been neither ſatisfaction to Ireland, nor revenue to Great Britain. This bolder policy, this happy art, which ſaw how much may be got by tax, and how much muſt be left to honour, which made a bold puſh for the heart of the nation, and leaving her free to acquire, took a chance for her diſpoſition to give, had its effect, for ſince that time until the preſent moſt unfortunate attempt, a great bulk of the community were on the ſide of government, and the parliamentary conſtitution was a guarantee for public peace.

"See then what you obtain without compenſation, a colony trade, a free trade, the independency of your judges, the government of your army, the extinction of the unconſtitutional powers of your council, the reſtoration of the judicature of your lords, and the independency of your legiſlature?

"See now what you obtain by compenſation—a covenant not to trade beyond the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan; a covenant not to take foreign plantation produce,

duce, but as the parliament of Great Britain ſhall permit; a covenant not to take Britiſh plantation produce, but as Great Britain ſhall preſcribe; a covenant to make ſuch acts of navigation as Great Britain ſhall preſcribe; a covenant never to protect your own manufactures, never to guard the primum of thoſe manufactures! Theſe things are accompanied, I do acknowledge, with a covenant on the part of England to diſarm your argument for protecting duties, to give the Engliſh language in the act of navigation the ſame conſtruction in Ireland, and to leave our linen markets without moleſtation or diminution. One ſhould think ſome God preſided over the liberties of this country, who made it frugality in the Iriſh nation to continue free, but has annexed the penalties of fine as infamy to the ſurrender of the conſtitution! from this conſideration of commerce, a queſtion much more high, much more deep, the invaluable queſtion of conſtitution ariſes in which the idea of protecting duties, the idea of reciprocal duties, of countervailing duties, and all that detail vaniſh, and the energies of every heart, and the prudence of every head, are called upon to ſhield this nation, that long depreſſed, and at length by domeſtic virtue and foreign misfortune emancipated, has now to defend her newly acquired rights and her juſtly acquired reputation; the queſtion is no leſs than that, which three years ago agitated, fired and exalted the Iriſh nation, the independency of the Iriſh parliament! By this bill we are to covenant that the parliament of Ireland ſhall ſubſcribe whatever laws the parliament of England ſhall preſcribe, reſpecting your trade with the Britiſh plantations, your trade in the produce of foreign plantations, and part of your trade from the United States of North America. There is alſo a ſweeping covenant or condition, whereby we are to agree to ſubſcribe whatever laws the parliament of England ſhall preſcribe reſpecting navigation; the adjuſtment ſubjects alſo your reverſionary trade to the Eaſt to the ſame terms—over all theſe objects you are to have no propounding,

no

no deliberative, no negative, no legiſlative power whatſoever. Here then is an end of your free trade and your free conſtitution; I acquit the people of England; an ill-grounded jealouſy for their trade ſeems aggravated by a well-founded alarm for your liberty; unwilling to relinquiſh, but when relinquiſhed, too magnanimous and too wiſe to reſume abdicated tyranny; they feel in theſe propoſitions an honourable ſolicitude for the freedom of Ireland, and the good faith of Great Britain, and ſee the darling principles and paſſions of both countries wounded in an arrangement which was to compoſe them for ever: to a propoſal therefore ſo little warranted by the great body of the people of England, ſo little expected by the people of Ireland, ſo little ſuggeſted by the miniſter, and ſo involving to whatever is dear to your intereſt, honour and freedom, I anſwer, No. I plead paſt ſettlements, I inſiſt on the faith of nations; the objection ſhould have been made when theſe ſettlements were making; but now the logic of empire comes too late; no accommodation, no deprecation on this ſubject: aſſertion, national aſſertion, national reaſſertion! If three years after the recovery of your freedom, you bend, your children, corrupted by your example, will ſurrender; but if you ſtand firm and inexorable, you make a ſeaſonable impreſſion on the people of England; you give a wholeſome example to your children, you afford an awful inſtruction to his Majeſty's miniſters, and make (as the Old Engliſh did in the caſe of their charter) the attempt on Iriſh liberty, its confirmation and eſtabliſhment!

"However, leſt certain gloſſes ſhould ſeem to go unanſwered, I ſhall, for the ſake of argument, wave paſt ſettlements, and combat the reaſoning of the Engliſh reſolutions, the addreſs, his Majeſty's anſwer, and the reaſoning of this day. It is here ſaid, that the laws reſpecting commerce and navigation ſhould be ſimilar and inferred, that Ireland ſhould ſubſcribe the laws of England on thoſe ſubjects; that is, the ſame law, the ſame legiſlature, but this argument goes a great

great deal too far, it goes to the army, for the mutiny bill ſhould be the ſame; it was endeavoured to be extended to the collection of your revenue, and is in train to be extended to your taxes; it goes to the extinction of the moſt invaluable part of your parliamentary capacity; it is an union, an incipient and a creeping union; a virtual union, eſtabliſhing one will in the general concerns of commerce and navigation, and repoſing that will in the parliament of Great Britain; an union where our parliament preſerves its exiſtence after it has loſt its authority, and our people are to pay for a parliamentary eſtabliſhment, without any proportion of parliamentary repreſentation. In oppoſing the right honourable gentleman's bill, I conſider myſelf as oppoſing an union *in limine*, and that argument for union which makes ſimilarity of law and community of intereſt (reaſon ſtrong for the freedom of Ireland!) a pretence for a condition which would be diſſimilarity of law, becauſe extinction of conſtitution, and therefore hoſtility, not community of intereſt; I ask on what experience is this argument founded?—Have you ever ſince your redemption refuſed to preſerve a ſimilarity of law in trade and navigation? Have you not followed Great Britain in all her changes of the act of navigation, during the whole of that unpalatable buſineſs, the American war? Have you not excluded the cheap produce of other plantations, in order that Iriſh poverty might give a monopoly to the dear produce of Britiſh colonies? Have you not made a better uſe of your liberty than Great Britain did of her power? But I have an objection to this argument, ſtronger even than its want of foundation, in reaſon and experiment; I hold it to be nothing leſs than an intolerance of the parliamentary conſtitution of Ireland, a declaration that the full and free external legiſlation of the Iriſh parliament is incompatible with the Britiſh empire. I do acknowledge that by your external power, you might diſcompoſe the harmony of empire, and I add, that by your power over the purſe you might diſſolve

the State; but to the latter you owe your exiſtence in the conſtitution, and to the former your authority and ſtation in the empire; this argument, therefore, reſts the connection upon a new and a falſe principle, goes directly againſt the root of parliament, and is not a difficulty to be accommodated, but an error to be eradicated; and if any body of men can ſtill think that the Iriſh conſtitution is incompatible with the Britiſh empire, doctrine which I adjure as ſedition againſt the connexion; but if any body of men are juſtified in thinking that the Iriſh conſtitution is incompatible with the Britiſh empire, periſh the empire! live the conſtitution! Reduced by this falſe dilemma to take a part, my ſecond wiſh is the Britiſh empire, my firſt wiſh and bounden duty is the liberty of Ireland; but we are told this imperial power is not only neceſſary for England, but ſafe for Ireland. What is the preſent queſtion? what but the abuſe of this very power of regulating the trade of Ireland by the Britiſh parliament, excluding you, and including herſelf by virtue of the ſame words of the ſame act of navigation? And what was the promovent cauſe of this arrangement? what but the power you are going to ſurrender, the diſtinct and independent external authority of the Iriſh parliament, competent to queſtion that miſconſtruction? What is the remedy now propoſed? the evil. Go back to the parliament of England; I ask again, what were the difficulties in the way of your eleven propoſitions? what but the jealouſy of the Britiſh manufacturers on the ſubject of trade? And will you make them your parliament, and that too for ever, and that too on the ſubject of their jealouſy, and in the moment they diſplayed it—ſafe! I will ſuppoſe that jealouſy realized, that you rival them in ſome market abroad, and that they petition their parliament to impoſe a regulation which ſhall affect a tonnage which you have, and Great Britain has not; how would you then feel your ſituation, when you ſhould be obliged to regiſter all this? And how would you feel your degradation, when you ſhould ſee your own manufacturers

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paſs you by as a cypher in the conſtitution, and depreçate their ruin at the bar of a foreign parliament—ſafe! Whence the American war? Whence the Iriſh reſtrictions? Whence the miſconſtruction of the act of navigation? Whence but from the evil of ſuffering one country to regulate the trade and navigation of another, and of inſtituting, under the idea of general protectreſs, a proud domination, which ſacrifices the intereſt of the whole to the ambition of a part, and arms the little paſſions of the monopoliſt with the ſovereign potency of an imperial parliament; for great nations when curſed with unnatural ſway follow but their nature when they invade; and human wiſdom has not better provided for human ſafety than by limiting the principles of human power. The ſurrender of legiſlature has been likened to caſes that not unfrequently take place between two equal nations covenanting to ſuſpend in particular caſes their reſpective legiſlative powers for mutual benefit; thus Great Britain and Portugal agree to ſuſpend their legiſlative power in favour of the wine of the one, and the woollen of the other, but if Portugal had gone farther, and agreed to ſubſcribe the laws of England, this covenant had not been a treaty, but conqueſt; ſo Great Britain and Ireland may covenant, not to raiſe high duties on each others manufactures, but if Ireland goes farther, and covenants to ſubſcribe Britiſh law, this is not a mutual ſuſpenſion of the exerciſe of legiſlative power, but a transfer of the power itſelf from one country to another, to be exerciſed by another hand; ſuch covenant is not reciprocity of trade, it is a ſurrender of the government of your trade, inequality of trade, and inequality of conſtitution. I ſpeak however as if ſuch transfer could take place, but in fact it could not; any arrangement ſo covenanting is a mere nullity; it could not bind, ſtill leſs could it bind your ſucceſſors, for a man is not omnipotent over himſelf, neither are your parliaments omnipotent over themſelves, to accompliſh their own deſtruction and propagate death to their

ſucceſſors;

ſucceſſors; there is in theſe caſes a ſuperior relationſhip to our reſpective creators—God and the community, which in the inſtance of the individual, arreſts the hand of ſuicide, and in that of the political body, ſtops the act of ſurrender, and makes man the means of propagation, and parliament the organ to continue liberty, not the engine to deſtroy it. However though the ſurrender is void, there are two ways of attempting it, one by a ſurrender in form, the other by a ſurrender in ſubſtance; appointing another parliament your ſubſtitute, and conſenting to be its regiſter or ſtamp, by virtue of which to introduce the law and edict of another land; to cloath with the forms of your law, foreign deliberations, and to preſide over the diſgraceful ceremony of your own abdicated authority; both methods are equally ſurrenders, and both are wholly void. I ſpeak on principle, the principle on which you ſtand—your creation. We, the limited truſtees of the delegated power, born for a particular purpoſe, limited to a particular time, and bearing an inviolable relationſhip to the people who ſent us to parliament, cannot break that relationſhip, counteract that purpoſe, ſurrender, diminiſh, or derogate from thoſe privileges we breathe but to preſerve. Could the parliament of England covenant to ſubſcribe your laws? Could ſhe covenant that Young Ireland ſhould command and Old England ſhould obey? If ſuch a propoſal to England were mockery, to Ireland it cannot be conſtitution. I reſt on authority as well as principle, the authority on which the revolution reſts; Mr. Locke, who in his chapter on the abolition of government, ſays, that the transfer of legiſlative power is the abolition of the ſtate, not a transfer. Thus I may congratulate this Houſe and myſelf, that it is one of the bleſſings of the Britiſh conſtitution, that it cannot periſh of a rapid mortality, nor die in a day, like the men who ſhould protect her; any act that would deſtroy the liberty of the people, is dead-born from the womb; men may put down the public cauſe

cauſe for a ſeaſon, but another year would ſee old conſtitution advance the honours of his head, and the good inſtitution of parliament ſhaking off the tomb to re-aſcend in all its pomp and pride, and plenitude and privilege!

"Sir, I have ſtated theſe propoſitions and the bill as a mere transfer of external legiſlative authority to the parliament of Great Britain, but I have underſtated their miſchief, they go to taxation, taxes on the trade with the Britiſh plantations, taxes on the produce of foreign plantations, taxes on ſome of the produce of the United States of North America; they go to port duties, ſuch as Great Britain laid on America! the mode is varied, but the principle is the ſame. Here Great Britain takes the ſtamp of the Iriſh parliament; Great Britain is to preſcribe, and Ireland is to obey! We anticipate the rape by previous ſurrender, and throw into the ſcale our honour, as well as our liberty. Do not imagine that all theſe reſolutions are mere acts of regulation; they are ſolid ſubſtantial revenue, great part of your additional duty. I allow the bill excepts rum and tobacco; but the principle is retained, and the operation of it only kept back. I have ſtated that Great Britain may by theſe propoſitions cruſh your commerce, but ſhall be told that the commercial jealouſy of Great Britain is at an end. But are her wants at an end? are her wiſhes for Iriſh ſubſidy at an end? No; and may be gratified by laying colony duties on herſelf, and ſo raiſing on Ireland an imperial revenue to be ſubſcribed by our parliament, without the conſent of our parliament, and in deſpite of our people. Or if a miniſter ſhould pleaſe to turn himſelf to a general exciſe, if wiſhing to relieve from the weight of further additional duties the hereditary revenue now alienated, if wiſhing to relieve the alarms of the Engliſh manufacturers, who complain of our exemption from exciſes, particularly on ſoap, candles, and leather: he ſhould proceed on thoſe already regiſtered articles of taxation, he might tax you by threats,

ſuggeſting

ſuggeſting that if you refuſe to raiſe an exciſe on yourſelf, England will raiſe colony duties on both.—See what a mighty inſtrument of coercion this bill and theſe reſolutions—ſtir and the miniſter can cruſh you in the name of Great Britain; he can cruſh your imports; he can cruſh your exports; he can do this in a manner peculiarly mortifying, by virtue of a clauſe in a Britiſh act of parliament that would ſeem to impoſe the ſame reſtrictions on Great Britain; he can do this in a manner ſtill more offenſive, by the immediate means of your own parliament, who would be then an active cypher, and notorious ſtamp in the hands of Great Britain, to forge and falſify the name and authority of the people of Ireland. I have conſidered your ſituation under theſe propoſitions with reſpect to Great Britain: ſee what would be your ſituation with reſpect to the crown? You would have granted to the King a permanent money bill, or a money bill to continue as long as the parliament of Great Britain ſhall pleaſe, with a covenant to increaſe it as often as the Britiſh parliament ſhall pleaſe. By the reſolutions a great part of the additional duty would have been ſo granted; the trade of the country is made dependant on the parliament of Great Britain, and the crown is made leſs dependant on the parliament of Ireland, and a code of prerogative added to a code of empire. If the merchant after this ſhould petition you to lower your duties on the articles of trade, your anſwer, "trade is in covenant." If your conſtituents ſhould inſtruct you to limit the bill of ſupply, or paſs a ſhort money bill, your anſwer, "the purſe of the nation like her trade is in covenant." No more of ſix months money bills; no more of inſtructions from conſtituents; that connection is broken by this bill, paſs this you have no conſtituent—you are not the repreſentative of the people of Ireland, but the regiſter of the Britiſh parliament, and the equalizer of Britiſh duties!

In order to complete this chain of power, one link (I do acknowledge was wanting, a perpetual revenue bill, or a covenant

covenant from time to time to renew the bill for the collection thereof. The twentieth reſolution, and this bill founded upon it, attain that object. Sir, this Houſe reſts on three pillars, your power over the annual mutiny bill; your power over the annual additional duties; your power over the collection of the revenue. The latter power is of great conſequence, becauſe a great part of our revenues are granted for ever. Your anceſtors were ſlaves; and for their eſtates, that is, for the act of ſettlement, granted the hereditary revenue, and from that moment ceaſed to be a parliament; nor was it till many years after that parliament revived; but it revived as you under this bill would continue; without parliamentary power; every evil meaſure derived argument, energy and eſſence from this unconſtitutional fund. If a country gentleman complained of the expences of the crown, he was told a frugal government could go on without a parliament, and that we held our exiſtence, by withholding the diſcharge of our duty. However, though the funds were granted for ever, the proviſion for the collection was inadequate; the ſmuggler learned to evade the penalties, and parliament, though not neceſſary for granting the hereditary revenue, became neceſſary for its collections. Here then we reſt on three pillars: the annual mutiny bill, the annual additional ſupply, and the annual collection of the revenue. If you remove all theſe, this fabric falls; remove any one of them, and it totters; for it is not the mace, nor the chair, nor this dome, but the deliberate voice reſident herein that conſtitutes the eſſence of parliament. Clog your deliberations, and you are no longer a parliament, with a thouſand gaudy ſurviving circumſtances of ſhew and authority.

Contemplate for a moment the powers this bill preſumes to perpetuate; a perpetual repeal of trial by jury; a perpetual repeal of the great charter; a perpetual writ of aſſiſtance; a perpetual felony to ſtrike an exciſeman! The

The late Chief Baron Burgh, ſpeaking on the revenue bill, exclaimed, "you give to the dipping rule, what you ſhould deny to the ſceptre."

All the unconſtitutional powers of the exciſe we are to perpetuate, the conſtitutional powers of parliament we are to abdicate. Can we do all this? can we make theſe bulky ſurrenders, in diminution of the power, in derogation of the pride of parliament, and in violation of thoſe eternal relationſhips, which the body that repreſents ſhould bear to the community which conſtitutes?

The pretence given for this unconſtitutional idea is weak indeed; that as the benefits are permanent, ſo ſhould be the compenſation. But trade laws are to follow their nature, revenue laws to follow their's. On the permanent nature of commercial advantages depends the faith of trade, on the limited nature of revenue laws depends the exiſtence of parliament; but the error of the argument ariſes from the vice of dealing. It is a market for a conſtitution, and a logic applicable to barter only, is applied to freedom. To qualify this dereliction of every principle and power, the ſurrender is made conſtitutional; that is, the Britiſh market for the Iriſh conſtitution, the ſhadow of a market for the ſubſtance of a conſtitution! You are to reſerve an option, trade or liberty; if you mean to come to the Britiſh market you muſt paſs under the Britiſh yoke. I object to this principle in every ſhape, whether you are, as the reſolution was firſt worded, directly to transfer legiſlative power to the Britiſh parliament; whether, as it was afterwards altered, you are to covenant to ſubſcribe her acts; or whether, as it is now ſoftened, you are to take the chance of the Britiſh market, ſo long as you wave the bleſſings of the Britiſh conſtitution—terms diſhonourable, derogatory, incapable of forming the foundation of any fair and friendly ſettlement, injurious to the political morality of the nation; I would not harbour a ſlaviſh princi-

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ple, nor give it the hoſpitality of a night's lodging in a land of liberty! Slavery is like any other vice, tolerate and you embrace; you ſhould guard your conſtitution by ſettled maxims of honour, as well as wholeſome rules of law; and one maxim ſhould be, never to tolerate a condition which trenches on the privilege of parliament, or derogates from the pride of the iſland. Liberal in matters of revenue, practicable in matters of commerce; on theſe ſubjects I would be inexorable; if the genius of Old England came to that bar, with the Britiſh conſtitution in one hand, and in the other an offer of all that England retains, or all that ſhe has loſt of commerce, I ſhould turn my back on the latter, and pay my obeiſance to the bleſſings of her conſtitution, for that conſtitution will give you commerce, and it was the loſs of that conſtitution that deprived you of commerce. Why are you not now a woollen country? becauſe another country regulated your trade. Why are you not now a country of re-export? becauſe another country regulated your navigation. I oppoſe the original terms as ſlaviſh, and I oppoſe the conditional clauſe as an artful way of introducing ſlavery, of ſoothing an high ſpirited nation into ſubmiſſion by the ignominious deluſion that ſhe may ſhake off the yoke when ſhe pleaſes, and once more become a free people. The direct unconſtitutional propoſition could not have been liſtened to, and therefore reſort is had to the only poſſible chance of deſtroying the liberty of the people, by holding up the bright reverſion of the Britiſh conſtitution, and the ſpeculation of future liberty, as a conſolation for the preſent ſubmiſſion. But would any gentleman here wear a livery to-night, becauſe he might lay it aſide in the morning? or would this houſe ſubſtitute another, becauſe next year it might reſume its authority, and once more become the parliament of Ireland? I do not believe we ſhall get the Britiſh, but I do not want to make an experiment on the Britiſh market, by making an experiment likewiſe on the conſtitution and ſpirit of the people of Ireland. But do not imagine

agine if you ſhall yield for a year, you will get ſo eaſily clear of this inglorious experiment; if this is not the Britiſh market, why accept the adjuſtment? and if it is, the benefit thereof may take your deliberative voice. You will be bribed out of your conſtitution by your commerce; there are two ways of taking away free will, the one by direct compulſion, the other by eſtabliſhing a præpollent motive. Thus a ſervant of the crown may loſe his free will, when he is to give his vote at the hazard of his office, and thus a parliament would loſe its free-will, if it acted under a conviction that it exerciſed its deliberative function at the riſk of its commerce. No one queſtion would ſtand upon its own legs, but each queſtion would involve every conſideration of trade, and indeed the whole relative ſituation of two countries. And I beſeech you to conſider that ſituation, and contemplate the powers of your own country, before you agree to ſurrender them. Recollect that you have now a right to trade with the Britiſh plantations, in certain articles, without reference to Britiſh duties; that you have a right to trade with the Britiſh plantations in every other article, ſubject to the Britiſh duties; that you have a right to get clear of each and of every part of that bargain; that you have a right to take the produce of foreign plantations, ſubject to your own unſtipulated duties; that you have a right to carry on a free and unqualified trade with the United States of North America; that you have a right to carry on an experimental trade in countries contiguous to which Great Britain has eſtabliſhed her monopolies, the power of trade this, and an inſtrument of power and ſtation and authority in the Britiſh empire! Conſider that you have likewiſe a right to the excluſive ſupply of your own market, and to the excluſive reſerve of the rudiment of your manufactures. That you have an abſolute dominion over the public purſe and over the collection of the revenue. If you aſk me how you ſhall uſe theſe powers, I ſay for Ireland with due regard to the Britiſh nation, let them be governed by the ſpirit of concord, and

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with fidelity to the connection; but when the mover of the bill asks me to ſurrender thoſe powers, I am aſtoniſhed at him. I have neither ears, nor eyes, nor functions to make ſuch a ſacrifice. What! that free trade, for which we exertedevery nerve in 1779, that free conſtitution for which we pledged life and fortune in 1782! Our lives are at the ſervice of the empire; but—our liberties! No—we received them from our Father, which is in Heaven, and we will hand them down to our children. But if gentlemen can entertain a doubt of the miſchief of theſe propoſitions, are they convinced of their ſafety? the ſafety of giving up the government of your trade? No! the miſchief is prominent, but the advantage is of a moſt enigmatical nature. Have gentlemen conſidered the ſubject, have they traced even the map of the countries, the power or freedom of trading with whom they are to ſurrender for ever? Have they traced the map of Aſia, Africa, and America? Do they know the French, Dutch, Portugueſe, and Spaniſh ſettlements? Do they know the neutral powers of thoſe countries, their produce, aptitudes, and diſpoſitions? Have they conſidered the ſtate of North America? its preſent ſtate, future growth, and every opportunity in the endleſs ſucceſſion of time attending that nurſe of commerce and aſylum of mankind? Are they now competent to declare on the part of themſelves and all their poſterity, that a free trade to thoſe regions will never in the efflux of time be of any ſervice to the kingdom of Ireland? If they have information on this ſubject, it muſt be by a communication with God, for they have none with man; it muſt be inſpiration, for it cannot be knowledge. In ſuch circumſtances to ſubſcribe this agreement, without knowledge, without even the affectation of knowledge, when Great Britain with all her experience and every means of information from Eaſt Indies, Weſt Indies, America, and with the official knowledge of Ireland at her feet, has taken ſix months to deliberate, and has now produced twenty

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reſolutions with an hiſtory to each, amounting to a code of empire, not a ſyſtem of commerce: I ſay in ſuch circumſtances for Ireland to ſubſcribe this agreement would be infatuation, an infatuation to which the nation could not be a party, but would appear to be concluded or indeed huddled with all her poſterity into a fallacious arrangement, by the influence of the crown, without the deliberation of parliament, or the conſent of the people! This would appear the more inexcuſable, becauſe we are not driven to it; adjuſtment is not indiſpenſable; the great points have been carried! an inferior queſtion about the home market has been ſtarted and a commercial fever artificially raiſed, but while the great points remain undiſturbed, the nations cannot be committed; the manufacturers applied for protecting duties, and have failed; the miniſter offered a ſyſtem of reciprocity, and ſucceeded in Ireland, but has failed in England; he makes you another offer inconſiſtent with the former, which offer the Engliſh do not ſupport, and the Iriſh deprecate.

We can go on, we have a growing proſperity, and as yet an exemption from intolerable taxes; we can from time to time regulate our own commerce, cheriſh our manufactures, keep down our taxes, and bring on our people, and brood over the growing proſperity of Young Ireland. In the mean time we will guard our free trade and free conſtitution as our only real reſources; they were the ſtruggles of great virtue, the reſult of much perſeverance, and our broad baſe of public action! We ſhould recollect that this Houſe may now, with peculiar propriety, interpoſe, becauſe you did with great zeal and ſucceſs, on this very ſubject of trade, bring on the people, and you did with great prudence and moderation, on another occaſion, check a certain deſcription of the people, and you are now called upon by conſiſtency to defend the people. Thus mediating between extremes, you will preſerve this iſland long, and preſerve her with a certain degree

of

of renown. Thus faithful to the conſtitution of the country, you will command and inſure her tranquillity, for our beſt authority with the people is, protection afforded againſt the miniſters of the crown. It is not public clamour but public injury that ſhould alarm you; your high ground of expoſtulation with your fellow-ſubjects has been your ſervices; the free trade you have given the merchant, and the free conſtitution you have given the iſland! Make your third great effort, preſerve them, and with them preſerve unaltered your own calm ſenſe of public right, the dignity of the parliament, the majeſty of the people, and the powers of the iſland! Keep them unſullied, uncovenanted, uncircumſcribed, and unſtipendiary! Theſe paths are the paths to glory; and let me add, theſe ways are the ways of peace: ſo ſhall the proſperity of your country, though without a tongue to thank you, yet laden with the bleſſings of conſtitution and of commerce, bear atteſtation to your ſervices, and wait on your progreſs with involuntary praiſe!"

The limits of this work will not admit a farther inſertion of the debates which took place on this queſtion—the principal arguments on either ſide may be collected from what has been ſtated—we ſhall therefore only obſerve that upon a diviſion leave was at length given to bring in the bill:—for it 127,—againſt it, 128.*

Whilſt theſe proceedings were pending, the public mind ſeem'd much divided on the ſubject—the terms propoſed did not ſeem to meet the approbation of the trading part of the community, ſeveral petitions were preſented to parliament in both countries againſt the propoſitions being paſs'd into a law—almoſt every county in Ireland expreſs'd its diſapprobation—tho' a few favourable addreſſes were by ſome means procured.—

* Parliam. Deb. Vol. v.

The ſmall majority in favour of ſo important a meaſure, was looked upon as a defeat; and accordingly, altho' Mr. Orde afterwards moved to have the bill read a firſt time, and to be printed, yet he declared he would not proceed any farther in the buſineſs, during the preſent ſeſſion, nor at all, unleſs the kingdom in general ſhould grow to a better liking of the meaſure, which he was confident, upon a further and more temperate re-conſideration of its principles, would obtain their approbation.

Thus terminated the intended commercial arrangement between Great Britain and Ireland, after having exerciſed the attention of both countries for upwards of ſeven months.

On the 5th of Sept. the houſe of commons met purſuant to adjournment, when the Clerk of the houſe read the following Letter from the Speaker.—

" *Gentlemen.*

" My advanced age, the decline of my ſtrength, and what " I feared moſt, of my underſtanding, have determined me, " before my imperfections become more apparent, to retire " from that high ſtation to which your favour had raiſed me. " To theſe perſonal conſiderations let me add one of much " more moment, the hazard of an interruption to the buſi- " neſs of the public by my infirmities. Theſe motives have " induced me to requeſt, that you will accept my reſignation " of that high office with which you honoured me, and elect " another gentleman in my room; and give me leave, " gentlemen, at the ſame time, to make my moſt humble " and grateful acknowledgements to you for your tenderneſs " and indulgence to my errors, and for the conſtant and " honourable ſupport which you have given me in the diſ- " charge of my duty during the courſe of fourteen years and

" upwards,

"upwards, the memory of which can never be eraſed from "my mind. I am, with the utmoſt reſpect, and the moſt "ſincere affection,

"Gentlemen;

"Your moſt obliged, and

"Moſt obedient ſervant,

"EDMOND SEXTON PERY."

The Right Honourable THOMAS ORDE ſaid, he with much reluctance was obliged to inform the Houſe, that his Grace the Lord Lieutenant had alſo received a letter to the ſame effect. He expreſſed the deepeſt concern that the nation ſhould be deprived of the advantages ſhe had long received from the wiſdom and integrity of Mr. Pery. He would not, he ſaid, attempt to enter into an eulogium on the merits of a man, whom, though he had leſs opportunities of judging than almoſt any other member of the Houſe, he had been uſed to think of with the higheſt veneration, and whoſe conduct in the chair, for more than fourteen years, had eſtabliſhed his reputation, and demanded the higheſt of praiſe; he would endeavour to provide a ſucceſſor worthy of ſuch a man; and in naming his right honble. friend, Mr. Foſter, he had an honeſt pride in reflecting how highly that gentleman's character ſtood in the eſtimation of the Houſe; how many and how great proofs he has given of his exalted talents, extenſive knowledge of buſineſs, and unſhaken integrity; qualities for which he truſted he would be diſtinguiſhed, and of which this nation would enjoy the fruits, long after he [Mr. Orde] ſhould ceaſe to be a witneſs of them. He lamented, however, that another high department muſt now be deprived of the benefit of thoſe qualities; but when he conſidered how peculiarly adapted they were to preſerve order, and give dignity to the proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, he would not heſitate to move, "The Right Honourable John Foſter do now take the chair as Speaker of this Houſe.

Lord

Lord KILWARLIN ſeconded the motion.

The Clerk then put the queſtion, which paſſed unanimouſly in the affimative, and the Right Honourable John Foſter was, by Mr. Orde and Lord Kilwarlin, conducted to the chair.

At the cloſe of the Seſſion the following addreſs was voted to the Lord Lieutenant.

To his Grace CHARLES duke of RUTLAND, LORD LIEUTENANT GENERAL, and GENERAL GOVERNOR of IRELAND; the humble ADDRESS of the KNIGHTS, CITIZENS and BURGESSES, in Parliament aſſembled.

"*May it pleaſe your Grace,*

"We, his Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Commons of Ireland, in parliament aſſembled, beg leave humbly to expreſs to your Grace, with unaffected warmth, the ſatisfaction which we feel in every opportunity of teſtifying our reſpect for your perſon, and our attachment to your government. We cannot reflect upon your Grace's conſtant attention to the happineſs and welfare of this kingdom, without grateful acknowledgements to his Majeſty, that his Majeſty has been pleaſed to give us ſo acceptable a proof of his royal favour as continuing your Grace in the government of Ireland. The generous humanity of diſpoſition, and high ſenſe of honour which diſtinguiſh your Grace's private character, have, in conjunction with your hereditary ſpirit and firmneſs, endeared you to the nation, by their happy influence on your public conduct.

"We humbly deſire your Grace to accept our ſincere thanks for thoſe exertions, which in conſequence of our unanimous addreſs, and in obedience to his Majeſty's commands, your Grace employed, during the laſt interval between

tween our ſeſſions, in preparing a plan of commercial intercourſe with Great Britain. We are aware that the utmoſt delicacy and caution are neceſſary for the conduct of meaſures in which the rights and intereſt of both kingdoms are equally concerned, and muſt be equally regarded; and we entertain a juſt ſenſe of the attention your Grace has manifeſted to this principle, that their completion ſhould depend upon the public ſatisfaction. We truſt therefore that the further conſideration of this ſubject will be purſued with that temper, that ſpirit of conciliation, and that impartial attention to the general welfare of the whole empire, which alone can enſure permanency to any ſyſtem, or enable the wiſdom of parliament to perfect ſuch an equal, reciprocal and juſt arrangement as may unite both kingdoms for ever in intereſt, and preſerve in each a firm confidence of mutual affection.

"It is our zealous and ardent wiſh that your Grace may long continue in the government of this kingdom, and contemplate, with growing pride and ſatisfaction, the ſucceſsful effect of your government, in the increaſing affection of a generous people, and in the progreſſive harmony and ſtrength of the empire.

On 7th Septr. the Lord Lieutenant concluded the Seſſions with the following Speech.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen*;"

"Although the very advanced ſeaſon of the year renders it expedient to conclude the preſent ſeſſion of Parliament, I flatter myſelf that the great object of adjuſting a commercial intercourſe with Great Britain has not in vain engaged your attention, and protracted your deliberations. You have repeatedly expreſſed your wiſhes for the attainment of an equitable ſettlement, and I have the ſatisfaction to obſerve that you continue to be impreſſed with the true ſenſe of its neceſſity and

and importance. You will have now the fulleſt leiſure to purſuey our conſideration of the ſubject in private, with that diſpaſſionate aſſiduity which it ſo eminently deſerves."

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

"I am to thank you, in his Majeſty's name, for the liberal proviſion you have made for the public ſervice, and the honourable ſupport of his Majeſty's government. In your generous contribution of ſupplies you have not leſs conſulted the dignity of his crown than the real intereſts of his people. The neceſſity of preventing the accumulation of debt cannot be too ſtrongly enforced, and it ſhall be my earneſt and conſtant endeavour to render your wiſe exertions for this ſalutary purpoſe effectual and permanent,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I feel the trueſt ſatisfaction in obſerving the various beneficial laws which have paſſed during this ſeſſion, and the wholeſome effects of your wiſdom in the returning tranquillity and induſtry, and in the riſing proſperity of the kingdom. The conduct of Parliament has had its juſt influence, their deliberate ſpirit and approved attention at all times to the public welfare has inſpired the people with full confidence in the legiſlature, and will teach them to conſider their true intereſts with calmneſs and diſcretion."

"The nobleſt object to which I can direct my attention, and which will ever conſtitute the happineſs and pride of my life, is the eſtabliſhment of the proſperity of Ireland, by extending and ſecuring her commerce, and by cementing and perpetuating her connection with Great Britan. And I truſt you will continually cheriſh this ſentiment in the national mind, that the ſtability and ſtrength of the empire can alone be ultimately inſured by uniting the intereſts and objects of both kingdoms in general and equitable ſyſtem of reciprocal and common advantage."

And

And then the Lord Chancellor declared, that it was his Grace the Lord Lieutenant's pleaſure that this Parliament be prorogued to Tueſday the 22d Day of November next; and the Parliament was accordingly prorogued to Tueſday the 22d day of November next.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Opening of the ſeſſion of 1786—*Lord Lieutenant's ſpeech—diſturbances by the Right-boys—proceedings of the Roman Catholic Clergy—bill for better execution of the law—debates thereon—petition againſt it—propoſal for a national ſyſtem of education—ſtate of the national debt in* 1786—*Speaker's ſpeech on preſenting the money bills—principal acts paſſed—concluſion of the ſeſſion.*

THE defeat which Mr. Orde's commercial bill thus met with, appear'd to give general ſatisfaction to the greater part of both countries:—And on the 19th January, 1786, parliament again aſſembled, when his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant addreſsed both houſes as follows.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

* "It is with great ſatisfaction, that, in obedience to his Majeſty's commands, I meet you again in Parliament. You will, I am perſuaded, give your utmoſt attention to the various objects of public concern which require your conſideration. Your natural ſolicitude for the welfare of Ireland, and a juſt ſenſe of her real intereſts, will direct all your deliberations, and point out to you the line of conduct which may be moſt conducive to the public advantage, and to that laſting connection between the ſiſter kingdoms, ſo eſſential to the proſperity of both.

"*Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,*

"I have ordered the public accounts and other neceſſary papers to be laid before you. The principle which you ſo wiſely

* Comm. Journ. Vol. xiii.

wiſely eſtabliſhed, of preventing the accumulation of the national debt, will, I hope, appear already to have proved ſucceſsful; and I entertain no doubt that your wiſdom will perſevere in meaſures which in their operation promiſe ſuch beneficial effects. His Majeſty relies with confidence upon your grant of ſuch ſupplies as are neceſſary for the public ſervice, and for the honourable ſupport of his government.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"A ſyſtematic improvement of the police, and a vigorous execution of the laws, are eſſential not only to the due collection of the public revenue, but to the ſecurity of private property, and indeed to the protection of ſociety. The frequent outrages which have been committed in ſome parts of the kingdom, will particularly call your attention to this important object.

"It is unneceſſary for me to recommend the Proteſtant Charter-Schools to your protection, or to enumerate the happy effects which may be derived from your continued attention to the Linen and other Manufactures, to the Agriculture, and to the Fiſheries of the kingdom, and to ſuch meaſures as may animate the induſtry, extend the education, and improve the morals of the people.

"It will ever be my ambition to promote the real intereſts of Ireland, and to contribute, by all the means in my power, towards eſtabliſhing its future proſperity on the ſureſt and moſt laſting foundation."

The ſpeech particularly recommends attention to frequent outrages which had been committed in ſome parts of the kingdom, and to a ſyſtematic improvement of police, and vigorous execution of the laws.

The

The outrages here attended to, were committed by a miſguided ſet of people, who were guilty of many atrocious offences, particularly in and about the County of Kilkenny, and who denominated themſelves *Right Boys*.—On this occaſion, the Roman Catholic clergy exerted themſelves, as on ſimilar occaſions, to ſuppreſs the ſpirit of licentiouſneſs and depredation which had ſpread thro' the lower rank of people, and the following inſtructions were ſent by Dr. Troy, then R. C. Biſhop of Oſſory, to the clergy of his dioceſs.

To the Roman Catholic Clergy of the Dioceſs of Oſſory.

Ven. Brethren in Chriſt Jeſus,

"Notwithſtanding the uniform Doctrine of the Catholic Church concerning the invalidity of combination-Oaths in general, and of the late one adminiſtered by perſons, calling themſelves *Right-Boys* in particular, has been frequently explained, I am extremely concerned to hear, that ſome of our deluded People who have taken ſaid wicked Oath, think or ſeem to think themſelves obliged to obſerve it. In order to remove this great Error, equally prejudicial to the intereſts of Society and Religion, I think it neceſſary to require each and every one of You (as I do hereby) to declare in the name of God and our holy Church, from your reſpective Altars, that the aforeſaid *right-Boy-Oath* is ſo far from being binding in Conſcience, that whoever obſtinately adheres to the contrary Opinion, is unworthy of Catholic Communion, becauſe he acts in direct, and ſcandalous oppoſition to the expreſs Command of God, the Laws of the Church, and Statutes of the Realm. You are not therefore to adminiſter any Sacrament to ſuch perſons, even when dying, as have taken ſaid Oath, unleſs they ſhall abjure it entirely, and promiſe to hold and regard it, as null, and void, and of no Effect. If after this our ſolemn declaration, any perſon calling himſelf a Roman Catholic, who has already taken, or

may

may hereafter take ſaid Oath, ſhall depart this Life after refuſing to make the above mentioned Abjuration and Promiſe, he is to be deprived of all the Rites, and Suffrages of our holy Church, and to be looked upon in every reſpect as ſeparated from the Communion of Saints. I confide much in your zealous and prudent Endeavours to reclaim theſe misguided poor creatures; and hope our Efforts to procure their Happineſs, and promote public Peace will, by the Mercy of God, prove ſucceſsful."

I am very ſincerely,
Ven. Brethren,
Your affectionate and moſt
humble Servant in Chriſt,
JOHN TROY.

Theſe efforts however were ineffectual, and it was thought neceſſary that parliament ſhould interpoſe, and prevent the growing miſchief by ſome reſtrictive ſtatute.—Accordingly during the courſe of this ſeſſion (20 Mar. 1786,) the ſolicitor General preſented a bill for the better execution of the law.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL preſented a bill for the better execution of the law within the city of Dublin, and certain parts adjacent thereto, for quieting and protecting poſſeſſions within this kingdom, for the more expeditious tranſportation of felons, for reviving, continuing and amending certain ſtatutes therein mentioned, and for repealing an act paſſed in the ſeventeenth and eighteenth years of the reign of his preſent Majeſty, entitled an act for improving the police of the city of Dublin; which was received and read the firſt time.

He ſaid, I ſhall now move that this bill be read a ſecond time to-morrow.—It is my intention to move you, when this motion is carried, that the bill be printed, and that its committal be on Friday next.

Mr. STEWART.

Mr. STEWART (of Killamoon) intreated the gentlemen in adminiſtration not to preſs forward a matter of ſuch importance in ſo thin a Houſe, when many gentlemen were gone to attend the aſſizes in their different counties, and in the abſence of many others who did not expect this bill would have been brought forward this day, but give time for conſidering a bill of ſuch conſequence; which was not only to affect the city of Dublin, but every county in the kingdom.

Mr. GREEN ſaid he conſidered the diſturbances which had ſome time ſince taken place in Dublin, and the ſpirit of diſobedience to the laws which at this day prevailed in many parts of Ireland, as calling loudly for the interference of parliament. As to the bill propoſed for remedying thoſe evils, it was ſo plain that he thought any man of common underſtanding might comprehend it at firſt ſight, and therefore he would not conſent to delay.

* Mr. CONOLLY.—It ſeems it would be urged that no perſon has a ſuſpicion of the bill: I ſuſpect the principles of it becauſe I ſuſpect adminiſtration—I ſuſpect its intention, becauſe I ſuſpect adminiſtration—I ſuſpect an adminiſtration that promiſes this country trade, in lieu of which, ſhe gives us 140,000l. in taxes—I ſuſpect an adminiſtration, that when we ask for bread gives us a ſtone.—And though I wiſh for order and regulation, ſtill I am convinced the profits ariſing from that bill may be purchaſed too dearly—I ſee by one clauſe you intend to take the arms out of the hands of the volunteers.—When I reflect on the memorable propoſitions of 1785, and the ſenſible meaſures propoſed in 1786, it ſtaggers my faith, and induces me to ſay, that ſurely the people ought to be conſulted when you go to alter the conſtitution.—A bill of ſuch magnitude, to inſiſt to hurry it before

* Parliam. Reg. VOL. VI.

fore the Houſe, ſhews there is a ſnake in the graſs, to cruſh which every gentleman ought to attend.

Notwithſtanding the arguments of ſeveral gentlemen in oppoſition to the meaſure, the queſtion for reading the bill a ſecond time on the following day—was carried without any diviſion.——A few days after a petition of the freemen an freeholders of the city of Dublin, agreed on at a public meeting held purſuant to notice, at the Royal Exchange, on Saturday the 25th of March, 1786, and ſigned by the high ſheriffs of the ſaid city, was preſented to the Houſe and read, ſetting forth that the petitioners have beheld with the deepeſt concern a bill recently introduced into the Houſe, entitled, "A bill for the better execution of the law within the city of Dublin, and certain parts adjacent thereto, and for quieting and protecting poſſeſſions within this kingdom, for the more expeditious tranſportation of felons, for reviving, continuing and amending certain ſtatutes therein mentioned, and for repealing an act paſſed in the ſeventeenth and eighteenth years of the reign of his preſent Majeſty, entitled an act for improving the city of Dublin," which manifeſtly tends to ſubvert public liberty in the muſt eſſential points; that this bill, if paſſed into a law, would give a very great additional and moſt dangerous influence to the crown, in matters which intimately regard not only political freedom but the perſonal liberty and domeſtic quiet of individuals, an influence which every honeſt Iriſhman feels to be at leaſt as extenſive as is conſiſtent with the ſafety of the conſtitution; that the commiſſioners of police and other magiſtrates to carry the purpoſes of this bill into execution, holding their places at the will of the miniſter, may become dangerous inſtruments in their hands, wherewith to harraſs all thoſe perſons within their juriſdiction who may conſtitutionally oppoſe any miniſterial ſcheme, however ruinous to the intereſts of their country: that ſuch a law would be grievous in point of taxation in this kingdom, already heavily oppreſſed by

by its provisions for burdensome establishments; the petitioners therefore do most earnestly entreat the House to entertain no longer a bill which must destroy the independence of the city, and reduce the first corporation of the kingdom under the influence of the minister; and do also pray that they may be heard by themselves or counsel against the said bill.

This petition however was rejected, and the bill was passed with the utmost expedition.

The next subject of national importance, alluded to in his Excellency's speech, was that of Public Education:—concerning which Mr. Orde, on the 6th day of April, addressed the House, and said,——"he held in his hand some resolutions, and an address, upon a subject of very high concern to the nation, which he had mentioned yesterday, the improvement of the education of youth. The object of his resolutions was to extend the means of education at a cheap rate, that few persons should be excluded from its advantages. He was aware that there are several endowed schools thoughout the kingdom, and some of them rich, but their very opulence was the chief cause that defeated the intention of their founders; for the masters of some of the best endowed schools, content with receiving their salaries, either did no duty at all, or in so careless a manner, that the youth of the kingdom derived very little advantage from it. He would not therefore propose to proceed in the common manner, by endowing schools for the benefit of masters, but rather hoped some method might be adopted to help or support young people under a course of education, not merely by paying the master, but by assisting the scholars in the pursuit of knowledge, and afterwards to encourage scholars so formed to become teachers, rising in succession. This he thought might be done at an expence small indeed when compared to the benefits which the nation must derive from it. However, that the House might proceed

ceed with proper caution, and with that delicacy and regard which is due to the property of individuals, he would move, firſt, a reſolution declaratory of the principle on which he intended to proceed, and afterwards an addreſs, by which he hoped to acquire the means of carrying that principle into practice.—He then moved, "that the national foundation of one or more public ſchools, with regulations adapted thereto, for facilitating and extending to the youth of this kingdom the means of good education, would be of great public utility."

It was then reſolved, *nem. con.* that an humble addreſs be preſented to his Grace the Lord Lieutenant, requeſting that his Grace will be pleaſed to give directions for the preparing plans of the neceſſary arrangements for eſtabliſhing public ſchools, with an eſtimate of the expence thereof, accompanied with obſervations reſpecting the ſituations moſt proper for the ſame.

It was then ordered,—that the proper perſons do make returns to the Houſe of the ſchools of royal or other foundations in the reſpective dioceſes in this kingdom, ſpecifying the preſent yearly value of their reſpective endowments, of what they conſiſt, the names of the maſters and aſſiſtants, the ſalaries or allowances paid to the maſters, uſhers, aſſiſtants, or other officers belonging to the ſaid ſchools, as the ſame ſtood on the 25th day of March, 1786, together with the number of ſcholars, the boarders, and the day ſcholars.

It was alſo ordered, that the regiſters of the ſeveral dioceſes do return to this Houſe, on the firſt day of the next ſeſſion, an account of the Engliſh ſchools kept by the rectors or vicars in their reſpective dioceſes, with the number of ſcholars therein reſpectively, on the 5th day of March, 1786.

How-

However desirable a general system of National Education might be, what was now proposed has never since been carried into execution,—scarcely any thing more was heard on the subject.———We shall now briefly state the national debt of Ireland, as reported by the Committee of Accounts in the session of 1786.

STATE OF THE DEBT OF IRELAND, 1786.

Principal due upon debentures at lady-day, 1786,		927,600	0 0
Issued at Michaelms. 1784, to discharge trea. bills,		15,250	0 0
Making together,		942,850	0 0
Discharged at Michaelmas 1784, l.	40,860		
at Christmas, 1784,	11,070		
		51,930	0 0
Principal remaining due on debentures, L.D. 1785,		890,920	0 0
Due upon Treasury-bills, Lady-day, 1784.		604,025	0 0
Issued in April, 1784, in such bills, - -		25,000	0 0
Do. at Midsumr. to replace bills payable that day,		138,900	0 0
Also a further sum of - - -		100,000	0 0
And at Christmas, a further sum of -		100,000	0 0
Making in the whole		967,925	0 0
There was paid at Midsum. 1784, l.	14,000 0 0		
Also on Treas. bills, payable 83, 5, 6,	14,383 6 8		
		154,383	6 8
Principal due in Treas. bills, at Lady-day, 1785,		813,541	13 4
Do. on debentures due in 1785, brought forward,		890,920	0 0
Principal of cancelled debentures, forming bank cap.		600,000	0 0
Total principal of funded debt, due at L. D. 1785,		2,304,461	13 4
Add Interest on Tr. bills & debens.	39,437 2 8½		
Do. on Life, and Bank Annuities,	17,938 8 0¾		
		57,370	10 9¼
Total principal, Interest, and Annuities, -		2,361,832	4 1¼
Against which is to be applied, balances upon			
Loan Duties in hands of Vice T.	147,857 17 3¾		
In the Collectors' hands, -	55,753 1 10¾		
Excise in the course of collection	1,190 2 0		
		204,801	1 2
Total Prin. & Interest of funded debt, L. D. 1785,		2,157,031	2 11¼

The Right honourable the Speaker of the houſe of Commons, on preſenting the money bills, made the following ſpeech.

" *May it pleaſe your Grace,*

" THE expences of this kingdom had for a ſeries of years, as well in time of peace as war, conſtantly exceeded its revenue, and debt increaſed on debt.

" Where ſuch a ſyſtem is ſuffered to prevail, manufactures muſt at length give way, trade will decline, and agriculture ceaſe to produce wealth or plenty. The Commons therefore, in the laſt ſeſſion, wiſely determined to put a ſtop to ſo ruinous a ſyſtem, and with a ſpirited attention to the true intereſts of their country, and the honourable ſupport of his Majeſty's government, they voted new taxes to increaſe the revenue of the year, in the ſum of 140,000l.

" The effort was great, and the event has proved its wiſdom. No further addition is now wanting—no loan or act of credit is neceſſary—a ſituation unknown to this kingdom for many ſeſſions paſt, and marking with peculiar force the happy æra of your Grace's adminiſtration.

" Animated by this ſucceſs, and determined to perſevere in the principle of preventing the accumulation of debt, his Majeſty's faithful Commons have in this ſeſſion, continued the ſame taxes, and granted all the ſupplies that were deſired, to the full amount of every eſtimated expence; nor have they omitted at the ſame time to provide for the ſpeedy reduction of the national debt, by a conſiderable ſinking fund, and to continue to the agriculture, the fiſheries, and the riſing manufactures of the kingdom, the bounties neceſſary for their ſupport.

"Great as theſe taxes are, they are liberally and chearfully given, in the moſt firm and full confidence that from your Grace's experienced wiſdom and affection for this kingdom, they will be found effectually to anſwer the end propoſed, of ſupplying the whole of the public expence, and preventing any further accumulation of debt."

The moſt material acts paſſed this ſeſſion were as follows.

An act for continuing and amending ſeveral laws relating to his Majeſty's Revenue, and for the more effectually preventing of frauds therein, and for other purpoſes therein mentioned.

An act to ſuſpend for a limited time the operation of an act paſſed laſt ſeſſion of parliament, entitled an act for the more effectually regiſtering of freeholders, ſo far as the ſame ſhall affect the election of members to ſerve in parliament.

An act for the more effectually promoting partnerſhips in trade, by amending the laws reſpecting the ſame.

An act for regulating the ſtage in the city and county of Dublin.

An act for the better execution of the law within the city of Dublin, and certain parts adjacent thereto, and for quieting and protecting poſſeſſions within this kingdom, for the more expeditious tranſportation of felons, for reviving, continuing and amending certain ſtatutes therein mentioned, and for repealing an act paſſed in the ſeventeenth and eighteenth years of the reign of his preſent Majeſty, entitled an act for the improving the police of the city of Dublin.

An act for the more effectual puniſhment of perſons who ſhall attain or attempt to attain poſſeſſion of money or goods by falſe pretences or by threats.

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An act to eſtabliſh the buſineſs of a pawnbroker, and to authorize ſuch perſons as ſhall be duly qualified to carry on the ſame to lend money on pawns or pledges, and to receive intereſt at a higher rate than heretofore was recoverable by law.

On the 8th of May, the Lord Lieutenant concluded the ſeſſions with the following ſpeech to both houſes of parliament.

" *My Lords and Gentlemen,* †

" I have ſeen with great ſatisfaction, the conſtant attention and uncommon diſpatch with which you have gone through the public buſineſs. I am thereby enabled now to relieve you from further attendance in parliament. The harmony of your deliberations has given no leſs efficacy than dignity to your proceedings, and I am confident that you will carry with you the ſame diſpoſition for promoting the public welfare to your reſidence in the country, where your preſence will encourage the induſtry of the people, and where your example and your influence will be happily exerted in eſtabliſhing general good order and obedience to the laws.

" *Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,*

" I am to thank you, in his Majeſty's name, for the liberal ſupplies which you have given for the public ſervice, and for the honourable ſupport of his Majeſty's government. They ſhall be faithfully applied to the purpoſes for which they were granted. My reliance upon your decided ſupport to the execution of the laws for the juſt collection of the public revenue, affords me the beſt founded hope that the produce of the duties will not fall ſhort of their eſtimated amount.

" *My*

† Comm. Journ. Vol. xxiii.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"The determined ſpirit with which you have marked your abhorence of all lawleſs diſorder and tumult, hath, I doubt not, already made an uſeful impreſſion; and the ſalutary laws enacted in this ſeſſion, and particularly the introduction of a ſyſtem of police, are honourable proofs of your wiſdom, your moderation and your prudence.

"His Majeſty beholds with the higheſt ſatisfaction the zeal and loyalty of his people of Ireland; and I have his Majeſty's expreſs commands to aſſure you of the moſt cordial returns of his royal favour and parental affection.

"I have the deepeſt ſenſe of every obligation to confirm my attachment to this kingdom, and it will be the conſtant object of my adminiſtration, and the warmeſt impulſe of my heart, to forward the ſucceſs of her intereſts, and to promote the proſperity of the empire."

And then the Lord Chancellor declared that it was his Grace the Lord Lieutenant's pleaſure that this parliament be prorogued to Tueſday the 18th day of July next; and the parliament was accordingly prorogued to Tueſday the 18th day of July next.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Commencement of the ſeſſion 1787—Lord Lieutenant's ſpeech—addreſs to his Majeſty—debates on paſſing the addreſs—enquiry into the inſurrections in Munſter—petition from the Preſbyterian Clergy—treaty of commerce with France—reſolutions thereon—debates thereon—addreſs to his Majeſty relative to the treaty.

THE next ſitting of parliament, began 18th January, 1787,—We already noticed the diſturbances in Munſter, by thoſe inſurgents called *Right-boys*; they had now increaſed to an alarming degree; and were particularly recommended to the conſideration of parliament by his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant who addreſſed both houſes as follows.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"I had hoped that upon the preſent occaſion of meeting you again in parliament it would have been in my power to have announced to you the entire ſuppreſſion of thoſe commotions which, in ſome parts of the kingdom, have diſturbed the general tranquillity. Under the preſent circumſtances I am perſuaded, by my confidence in the accuſtomed proofs of your wiſdom and zeal, that I ſhall receive from you whatever aſſiſtance may be neceſſary for the more effectual vindication of the laws, and the protection of ſociety. Your uniform regard for the rights of your fellow-ſubjects, and your zealous attachment to the religious and civil conſtitutions of your country, will ſtimulate your attention to their inſeparable

inſeparable intereſts, and will enſure your eſpecial ſupport of the eſtabliſhed church, and the reſpectable ſituation of its miniſters.

" *Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,*

" I have directed the proper officers to lay the national accounts before you; and I truſt you will make the neceſſary proviſions for the exigencies of the ſtate, and the honourable ſupport of his Majeſty's government.

" *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

" An act was paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of the Britiſh parliament for the further increaſe of ſhipping and navigation: You will, I doubt not, take proper meaſures to confirm to this country a full participation of its advantages.

" I have the ſatisfaction to inform you, by the King's command, that his Majeſty has concluded a treaty of navigation and commerce with the Moſt Chriſtian King. A copy of this treaty will be laid before you, in which you will not fail to obſerve the attention which is paid to the intereſts of this kingdom; and I truſt that your adoption of it here, by ſuch laws as may be requiſite to give it effect, will be attended with real benefit to the country, by ſucceſsfully encouraging the efforts of her induſtry and emulation.

" The trade and manufactures, and particularly the Linen Manufacture of this kingdom; the Proteſtant Charter Schools, and other public inſtitutions for charitable purpoſes, will not fail to engage your conſtant care and encouragement. And I hope that ſome liberal and extenſive plan for the general improvement of education will be matured for an early execution.

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" A longer acquaintance with this country ſtrengthens my anxious wiſhes for its welfare; and I ſhall experience the moſt ſenſible gratification, if in my adminiſtration of the King's government I can with a ſucceſs, in any degree correſpondent to thoſe wiſhes, accompliſh his Majeſty's earneſt deſire to promote and ſecure the happineſs and proſperity of Ireland."

The following addreſs to his Majeſty was agreed to by the Commons.

" *Moſt Gracious Sovereign,*

" We, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Commons of Ireland in Parliament aſſembled, beg leave to approach your throne, not only with the conſtant declarations of our attachment to your royal perſon, family and government, but with the moſt ardent and ſincere congratulations on your Majeſty's providential deliverance from the deſperate effort of a frantic aſſaſſin. We ſhould be dead to every ſentiment of loyalty and gratitude, if we could repreſs our ſolicitude for the life of a ſovereign whoſe reign has been endeared to us by his diſtinguiſhed attention to his ſubjects of this kingdom.

" We are affected with the utmoſt concern and indignation at thoſe alarming and violent outrages which had ſo long diſgraced a part of this kingdom, and which we have in vain hoped would have been extinguiſhed by the vigorous, yet temperate exertions of your Majeſty's government; convinced at the ſame time that no kingdom can riſe to proſperity but through the eſtabliſhment of internal peace, we are determined to check the progreſs of diſorder by every means in our power. No effort of combination or force ſhall divert our decided reſolution to ſecure the rights of all our fellow-ſubjects, and effectually to maintain the civil and religious conſtitution

tutions of the ſtate. The ſupport of the eſtabliſhed church, and of the reſpectable ſituation of its miniſters, is an object of the moſt eſſential importance, and inſeparably connected with the ſecurity of all our deareſt intereſts; we can never therefore be wanting either in attention or zeal to defend them, by inveſting your Majeſty's government with every requiſite and adequate authority, relying upon the prudence and humanity of a chief governor, whoſe amiable and ſteady virtnes have entirely engaged our attachment and confidence.

"We ſhall chearfully make the neceſſary proviſions for the exigencies of ſtate, and the honourable ſupport of your Majeſty's government.

"We ſhall loſe no time in inveſtigating thoſe advantages which may be derived from our enacting of laws for the further increaſe of ſhipping and navigation.

"We humbly offer our acknowledgments to your Majeſty for your gracious communication of the treaty of navigation and commerce which your Majeſty has concluded with the moſt Chriſtian King. We have no doubt of the attention which has been ſhewn therein to our particular ſituation and intereſts; and we muſt be naturally anxious to adopt any meaſure which, by engaging the nation in new objects of emulation and induſtry, promiſes thereby to open another ſource of wealth and proſperity.

"We ſhall not neglect a judicious encouragement of our Linen and other manufactures. The Proteſtant Charter Schools and other public inſtitutions for charitable purpoſes will command our attention; and we ſhall not fail in applying ourſelves to the important object of a general improvement of education.

"Encouraged in our endeavours for the public good by your Majeſty's auſpicious recommendation and patronage,

we

we ſhall omit no exertions in furthering the great purpoſes for which we are aſſembled, and conſulting the glory of your Majeſty's reign, by ſecuring the peace of your kingdom, and exalting its proſperity."

From ſome debates that took place at the time of paſſing this addreſs, the reader will be enabled to form ſome judgment as to the then ſituation of this country; we ſhall therefore ſtate a few of the principal arguments on that ſubject.—When the 3d paragraph of the addreſs was read, the Rt. Hon. T. Conolly ſpoke as follows.

I do not riſe to move an amendment of, or alteration to the reſolution as it now ſtands. But I ſhall trouble the Houſe with a few obſervations on the unhappy ſtate which it repreſents the kingdom to be in.

I hope the gentlemen on the other ſide of the Houſe will do me the juſtice to admit, that the intereſts of the kingdom in general, and of the empire, have ever influenced me, and that they are certain of all my aſſiſtance in every meaſure that can tend to the preſervation of our happy conſtitution in church and ſtate. I look on them to be interwoven as I do the intereſts of the two kingdoms. For if the conſtitution of Ireland in church and ſtate was ſubverted, who will not ſay, that England would be materially affected by it?

Now, ſuppoſing that theſe diſturbances are as extenſive as have been repreſented, but I hope in God they are not—ſuppoſing they are as formidable as Government have repreſented them in their proclamations, are not the laws at preſent in being ſufficient to reſtore order? They are abundantly ſo, if properly enforced. And hence, my ſuſpicion is excited, when I behold Adminiſtration attempting by inſinuation to eſtabliſh the neceſſity of new laws for unneceſſary purpoſes, or for ſomething worſe. I am convinced that had Adminiſtration

ſtration been active, they might have cheked theſe diſturbrances in embryo,. I will aſk, can any man entertain a doubt of it? and when they did not, what can we infer from it, but that there was ſome dark deſign in ſuffering them to come to maturity?

This may ſeem to be a reflection upon our worthy Chief Governor—I know him to be an honeſt man, and the friend of both countries, and it is not him I ſuſpect—it is the Adminiſtration. And why do I ſuſpect Adminiſtration? becauſe of their conduct on the propoſitions; when they wiſh to prove, and to have us believe, that the returned propoſitions were identically the ſame as the original ten, and were ready to paſs them with the ſame alacrity and vigour, although every man in the nation was convinced that they coerced the commerce, and invaded the conſtitution of this kingdom.

But not to loſe more time, I will aſk the gentlemen on the other ſide of the houſe to explain the tendency of that paragraph in the addreſs? My fears can do no harm; but I ſhould be happy they were done away. I again call upon gentlemen for an explanation. [Here Mr. Conolly made a conſiderable pauſe.] No anſwer! then I take it, that my ſuſpicions are juſtly founded, and that no anſwer can be given. Good God, Sir, is it conſiſtent with ſenſe to enact new laws, before you try whether the old ones would anſwer the purpoſe? and this is the caſe, for the ſupineneſs of the magiſtrates has been admitted on all ſides. But, Sir, I conſider this as a meaſure to intimidate the proteſtants of the kingdom, and to furniſh a pretext for an unconſtitutional police-bill. If theſe turbulences are not exaggerated, then Government are highly cenſurable for not having prevented them in time; and if they are not, they are doubly ſo, for certain ill-founded alarms; ſo that in either caſe they are culpable in the extreme, and forfeit the confidence of the people.

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The peaſantry of the ſouth, we are told, have the greateſt meetings ever known; nay they are in arms, as the proclamations tell us. Well, why did not Government in the infancy of inſurrection ſuppreſs it? Would not any moderate man be inclined to ſuſpect them of miſconduct, and of abetting the outrages of the ſouth, when they recollected that the proteſtant inſurgents in 1763 were tried for high treaſon? what is the inference to be deduced from this fact? Juſt this: that Government were not ſo well diſpoſed to puniſh. Strange, indeed, that proteſtants in 1763 ſhould be indicted for high treaſon, and that Catholics in 1787 ſhould be guilty of a higher crime, and only indicted ſimply for a miſdemeanour. Let the friends of Government reconcile this with the idea of "vigorous exertions." I will no longer engroſs the time of the Houſe, but hope that Government will, in no ſhape whatever, attempt to ſubvert the liberty of the ſubject, or trench on the conſtitution.

Mr. Longfield, then made the following remarks.—Since I came up to Dublin (ſaid he) I begin to doubt whether I generally reſide in the county of Cork, or not, I hear ſuch loud and numerous reports of violences, outrages and diſorders in that country, a word of which I never heard at home, that I begin to think I have miſtaken the place of my abode. But what is truly terrible in its conſequence is, that by the ſpeech from the throne I ſee it is taken for granted, that all thoſe reports are true, and a ſcandalous imputation and reproach is thrown not only on a great and reſpectable county, but on a whole province: I do, therefore, think it my duty to ſtate to the Houſe what really is the fact, and they will ſee that the interpoſition of the magiſtrates alone, without the aid of new or ſanguinary laws, or without the interpoſition of the military, is ſufficient to render the formidable inſurgents about whom ſuch a clamour has been raiſed.

When I went down to the county of Cork laſt ſummer, I found no diſturbance exiſting, though in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament

parliament I had been told there was. I live near the town of Cloyne; my demeſne bounds it. The right reverend prelate of that dioceſe had not then applied for any military aſſiſtance, but lived quietly ſecure at home, in the protection of the neighbouring gentlemen. The firſt thing that could be called a diſturbance was of ſuch a kind, that I was induced to think Government had a hand in it. (This cauſed much noiſe in the houſe.) Some very reſpectable people of Cloyne came to me, and told me that a bailiff belonging to the high-ſheriff had been ſent amongſt them, with notices to provide a quantity of arms and ammunition, and a number of horſes, by the following Sunday, for the uſe of Captain Right. I thought it odd enough that a ſheriff's bailiff ſhould be employed on ſuch a buſineſs, and, as a magiſtrate, I ſent for him. He confeſſed the fact of having ſerved the notices, and ſaid he was employed by Captain Right. I deſired him to give information againſt Captain Right, which he refuſed, upon which I committed him to gaol, returned the bills againſt him, and brought perſons of credit who had ſworn examinations and were ready to proſecute, but to my aſtoniſhment I found that the grand jury had thrown out the bills. I ſpoke to Mr. Kemmis, the crown ſolicitor, who ſaid he could do nothing without an order from Government, and as I was not in the habit of aſking favours from Government, I there let the matter drop.

This was the firſt diſturbance I had heard of; the next was that Captain Right ſwore ſome of the people in my neighbourhood to obſerve his regulations; yet another gentleman and I, attended by a ſingle ſervant, made this formidable Captain Right a priſoner, and ſafely lodged him in gaol. Such being the caſe, there ought not to be a general charge of delinquency againſt the county of Cork, becauſe ſome of its magiſtrates were ſupine. After what I have mentioned, Government ſent forces down to my part of the country; two of their officers were Engliſhmen, one a Scotchman; the people

people could not be ſuppoſed to have any very great partiality for them, or they for the people, yet they lived unmoleſted in good quarters, and never had occaſion to be called out to quell any diſturbance.

A nobleman of great talents, knowledge, experience and ſagacity, had the chief command of the troops ſent into the province of Munſter. I wiſh we had his report, if there was any regular way of coming at his report; you would there ſee that none but the loweſt wretches, who groan under the moſt intolerable oppreſſions, were engaged in any diſturbance. If that noble lord was here, he would make you ſhudder at the account of their miſeries.

Mr. Curran ſpoke as follows.—Had this addreſs been, as all addreſſes that I have ever read or heard were, compoſed of unmeaning ſtuff, I ſhould not riſe to ſpeak to it. But, it is an addreſs that tends to inſpire the mind of the Chief Governor with indignation for the wretched people of this country —an addreſs tending to impreſs the father of his people with the idea of their being in open revolt, to divert the royal mind from liſtening to the complaints of afflicted ſubjects, or alleviating their miſeries. I cannot give my conſent to ſuch groſs invective. To ſay it is neceſſary, is only adding irony to invective.

But you wiſh to compliment his Grace—and do you?—No; you praiſe him for the exertion of force that was never exerted; and if you ſuppoſe it exerted, you muſt confeſs yourſelf diſappointed in your expectation s of it; and ſurely this can be no compliment.

This country has been repreſented as in a ſtate little ſhort of open rebellion. As ſubjects of the country, it is the buſineſs of all gentlemen to conſider the real ſtate of the caſe, and if ever there was a time when party bias ſhould be thrown aſide,

aſide, it is the preſent. And we ſhould not brand the nation in the addreſs with words of courſe.

When you ſpeak of popular diſturbances, you ſhould ſearch for the ſource of them—the people are oppreſſed, and before you pour the laſt drop into the veſſel, and cauſe the waters of bitterneſs to overflow on them, conſider well what you are about. If the repreſentatives of the nation have been remiſs, if the magiſtrates throughout the kingdom have criminally been ſupine, lay the blame at the right door; ceaſe to utter idle complaints of inevitable effects, when you yourſelves have been the cauſes. The man who would ſay, that the conſtitution in church and ſtate was in danger, from the ſimple inſurrection of a parcel of peaſants, without order, without a head, without a leader, undiſciplined, unarmed, or only partially ſo, I would not take to be a very wiſe man; and the man who would ſay ſo from any thing, ſave an error in judgment, I would not take to be either a wiſe or an honeſt man. What is the tendency of this paragraph? Why, it is to create civil diſcord between ſubject and ſubject—to arm the hand of one man againſt another.

It is unuſual with me, to offer any captious oppoſition. My oppoſition to this part of the addreſs is not of this nature. I have in my breaſt a feeling, which will not ſuffer me to hear the cry of public calamity interpreted as the ſhout of rebellion; and this is now attempted to be done. You have no rebellion, creſting her head in the nation. But a deliberate ſcheme is ſaid to be on foot, for the extirpation of the proteſtant religion, and of the conſtitution. Were it the caſe, I ſhould expend the laſt drop of my blood in defence of both; but, it is not the fact. And I will tell gentlemen the cauſes from whence the preſent diſturbances originated. An idea has been diſſeminated, but I hope in God it will never take root, that though a man labours, he is not entitled to enjoy the emoluments of his labour and induſtry; and it is ſaid to

be

be the caſe, but I hope without juſtice. The patience of the people has been totally exhauſted; their grievances have long been the empty ſong of this Houſe, but no productive effect has ever yet followed. But it may be asked what are the grievances of the people? Why, one is non-reſidence of the land-holders. By their abſence the unfortunate tenant becomes ſubject to the tyranny of an intermediate landlord—and when this matter came before you, what did you do? Why, you denied the exiſtence of the grievance, and refuſed redreſs. You are deprived, by the non-reſident landholder, of your ſpecie—your gold and ſilver—but this is not the worſt of the miſchief. Every incentive to order, or induſtry is withdrawn—and hence one great reaſon for the preſent diſturbances.

Is it any wonder that the wretches whom woeful and long experience has taught to doubt, and with juſtice to doubt, the attention and relief of the legiſlature—wretches, that have the utmoſt difficulty to keep life and ſoul together, and who muſt inevitably periſh, if the hand of aſſiſtance is not ſtretched out to them—ſhould appear in tumult? No, it is not. Unbound to the ſovereign by any proof of his affection—unbound to government by any inſtance of its protection—unbound to the country, or to the ſoil, by being deſtitute of any property in it, 'tis no wonder that the peaſantry ſhould be ripe for rebellion and revolt—ſo far from being matter of ſurprize, it muſt naturally have been expected.

Will any man dare to ſay, that there is a ſingle man of property, a ſingle man of conſequence, connected with the inſurgents? Or that any ſuch men afford them ſupport? No; and with what juſtice then can the paragraph ſtand in the addreſs?

When a body of men ſtood forward, in the moment of general conſternation and diſmay—in that perilous moment, when

when it was a queſtion, whether you ſhould long ſit as a Houſe of Commons, government was unable to defend you —they, the Volunteers, defended you; and to be ſure you held out a good encouragement to loyalty! What did you do? You thanked them firſt, and diſmiſſed them afterwards. This was attended with the bleſſed effects we are now witneſſes of.—Fired with honeſt indignation, they withdrew themſelves from the ſervice of their country, and left it expoſed to all the conſequences of inteſtine commotion. It is true, you talked of ſubſtituting a militia-bill—but, this was a mere farce, to amuſe for the preſent moment—and you ſhould not have deprived the country of one ſupport, until you had actually ſupplied her with another.

You were called on, ſolemnly called on for a proper reformation in the repreſentation of the people; did you grant it? No; and how does it at preſent ſtand? Why, ſeats in this Houſe are bought and ſold. They are ſet up to public ſale; they are become an abſolute article of commerce, a traffic of the conſtitution. And, I have a doubt, whether, if a member of this Houſe ſhould become a bankrupt, that his ſeat in this aſſembly would not be claimed by his aſſignees, as a part of his property? And whether they might not put it up to public cant?

The legal and conſtitutional idea is that a member ſhould repreſent his conſtituents by virtue of the property he has.—Now members for theſe ſaleable rotten boroughs repreſent their conſtituents, or the people, by virtue of the property which they have not—for they repreſent them in virtue of the two thouſand pounds which they give the proprietor for his ſeat. Nothing then can be more clear than that they do not repreſent the people in virtue of the property they have.

And

And certainly as they have bought the people for a sum of money, it is natural they should sell them—and so they do! and make the most they can of the bargain. The mandate of a borough-monger can return any man—however contemptible—however obnoxious, into this House—and I ask you, should this be tolerated?

But there is a race in this country between public prodigality and connivance. Prodigality is every where to be seen, and connivance affords it the means of existence, and hence the race between public prodigality and public connivance—and the fact of their both keeping pace together,—I do not blame a certain right honourable gentleman, (Mr. Orde) I see him look grave at what I say. I am sure he feels it with regret. That right honourable gentleman knows, that the people have no power of controul over their representatives; and what is the consequence? Why, it is in the power of a few borough mongers to impede the necessary motions of government—to obstruct the necessary business of the nation! And hence, expectants and demandants must be gratified with places, and pensions, or we should have in fact no government! and hence are the people victims! I know what I say may be offensive to many gentlemen—individually and personally, I have as much respect for them perhaps as any man can have—but private respect must give way to public necessity.

But unless something is done, what will be the end of all this? Why government will be necessitated, at length, to imitate the policy of Henry the 7th, who broke the neck of an abominable aristocracy, and caused the property they had accumulated to circulate amongst the people. But in this case it would only be restoring to the people their own property, the right of election.

Nor are the evils I ſpeak of ſeen in theory only, but in practice. You have now, near one hundred thouſand pounds on your penſion-liſt; and this ſhould ſurprize and alarm every man who is not dead to the real ſubjects of ſurprize and alarm.

The peaſantry had formed hopes of relief, and will you daſh the cup of comfort, or ſnatch the bread of hope from the mouth of affliction? people when oppreſſed—though oppreſſed by law, will make repriſal—and theſe are the real cauſes of diſturbance.

I have been a reſident of this country, ſpoken of as in open inſurrection, and ſince gentlemen are in the habit of ſpeaking of themſelves, I ſhall do myſelf the ſame honour. I could not perceive any of the outrages ſpoken of, and I am certain that they were nothing more than the offspring of the moſt abject miſery. They were all forlorn wretches, who, were they inclined to become danglers, and to pin themſelves to the petticoat of Adminiſtration, ſo poor, ſo naked are they, that Adminiſtration would not find on them a rag whereby to pin them to their petticoat.

I have a family, and if I thought the accounts of diſturbances faithful and unexaggerated, can it be fairly ſuppoſed I would wiſh to with-hold protection from them? But in ſuch a light do I hold inſurrection, whatever provocatives might have been to it, that as a counſel I refuſed to be concerned for two men charged with the crime—and this I think ſhould entitle me to a little credit.

Still, I can ſee no neceſſity for creating a dictatorſhip in the perſon of our Chief Governor. Do we not poſſeſs the means of puniſhing any crime that may be committed againſt ſociety? Will any man hold out ſuch an incentive to rebellion, as to ſay we do not? The inſurrection is not ſo great.

The

The man who ſays it is, deſpairs of the common-wealth, and I inſiſt that there is nothing in the preſent times that will juſtify a departure from the ordinary proceedings, and eſtabliſhed forms of government.

The ſupineneſs of the magiſtrates, and the low ſtate of the commiſſions of the peace throughout the kingdom, but particularly in the county of Cork, are the things that ſhould be rectified. At the laſt aſſizes there, I prevailed on two unworthy mageſtrates, Butler and Wogan, to reſign their commiſſions, which they had abuſed, by freeing them from a proſecution.

A ſyſtem of vile jobbing, is one of the misfortunes of this country—it extends even to commiſſions of the peace—how elſe can the report of the four and twenty commiſſions of the peace ſent down to the county of Clare in one poſt (I don't mention it as a fact,) be accounted for?—Even the appointment of ſheriffs is notoriouſly, in the hands of government; and through jobbing, ſheriffs themſelves cannot be truſted—two ſheriffs ran away laſt year with executions in their pockets—and the late high ſheriff of the county of Dublin has abſconded.

Diſorders ſhould be remedied—but in that remedy, do not pronounce a ſentence of excommunication againſt the people, Suppoſe all the people of Ireland ſhall come to your houſe, and tell you, they were aggrieved and wanted redreſs, let me ask you, what would you ſay?——Many independent men, are waiting with patience for your deciſion—waiting quietly, with their hands before them—men, whoſe influence may make inſurrection dreadful—indeed, we have a moſt elegant, cuſtom-houſe, and for what? To afford palaces for the ſervants of the crown. One palace has been built in it, and I underſtand it was a matter of contention, that there were not two. All this is jobbing—and now I am given to underſtand, that

that palaces muſt be built for all the officers of police, under the deſcription of reſident-houſes.

I have read the hiſtory of other nations, and I have read the hiſtory of yours; I have ſeen how happily you emerged from inſignificance, and obtained your conſtitution. But when you waſhed this conſtitution with the waters which were to render it invulnerable, like the mother of Achilles, you forgot, that the part by which you held it was untouched in the immerſion; it was benumbed, and not rendered invulnerable, and therefore it ſhould attract your niceſt care.

You may talk of commerce extending—of a freedom of trade, but what in God's name, have they to do with the wretched peaſantry?—and when the peaſantry complain, and when I hear ſuch language, I conſider it as a ſolemn and an exulting mockery.

But let me examine what government has done to ſuppreſs thoſe diſturbances? they ſent down the Crown Solicitor to Cork! and was the Crown Solicitor a perſon to quell rebellion? They ſent down four hundred ſoldiers! was it to fugal for the body of rebels? if it was not, where are the conqueſts they made? But what did both ſolicitor and army do? They impannelled twelve of the wretches to try a thirteenth—they found him guilty, and they whipped him through the town at a cart's tail!—for ſhame! for ſhame! ceaſe thus to expoſe the King's government to the ridicule of the whole world!—by this trumpeting of alarm, when ſuch is the only foundation for it.

I have on a former day oppoſed attachments; but I think thoſe magiſtrates who have neglected their duty, ſhould and ought to be attached; and that it would be a better meaſure, than to augment the offences, or our criminal code, already too numerous.

He concluded by moving the following amendments:

To the second paragraph of the address, by inserting between the word *kingdom* and the word *and*, the following words: *Though it is a great consolation to us to think that these outrages have not originated in any disaffection in your Majesty's subjects of this kingdom to your Majesty's government, or to any concerted design of disturbing our present happy constitution either in church or state, but they had been wholly confined to some individuals of the lowest class of the people, whose extreme indigence and distress, may be the occasion; though they cannot be a justification of such illegal proceedings; and it is a further consolation to us to know, that the ordinary powers of the law now in being are fully adequate, if duly exerted, to punish and restrain such excesses.*

To the third paragraph, by adding after the word *government* the following words: *At the same time we humbly beg leave to represent to your Majesty, that the public expences of this country have encreased to a degree so far beyond the ability of the people to bear, that we feel ourselves called upon by our duty to our constituents to reduce those expences by every mode of retrenchment, consistent with honourable and necessary support to your Majesty's government, within such limits as may be compatible with the very exhausted resources of a distressed people. And we do not doubt of having your Majesty's gracious approbation of a measure so essential to the commercial hopes of your kingdom of Ireland, as well as conducive to the permanent peace and prosperity of this kingdom.*

And the question being put, that the words proposed to be added stand part of the said paragraphs, it passed in the negative.

Shortly after the address to his Majesty had been transmitted and an answer returned—the Attorney General entered into an enquiry concerning the outrages in Munster: he addres's'd the house as follows. After

After what has paſſed in this Houſe and upon the notoriety of the commotions referred to, I ſhould think myſelf uſtifiable in now moving an addreſs to the Crown, declaring that we were ready to give the moſt decided ſupport to government in ſuppreſſing them, did I not think it neceſſary to ſtop for one moment, to anſwer the charges that have been made againſt government, and to lay before the Houſe what has come to my knowledge reſpecting the proceedings of the inſurgents.

Their commencement was in one or two pariſhes in the county of Kerry, and they proceeded thus:—The people aſſembled in a maſs-houſe, and there took an oath to obey the laws of Captain Right, and to ſtarve the clergy. They then proceeded to the next pariſhes on the following Sunday, and there ſwore the people in the ſame manner, with this addition that they (the people laſt ſworn) ſhould, on the enſuing Sunday, proceed to the chapels of their next neighbouring pariſhes, and ſwear the inhabitants of thoſe pariſhes in like manner.

Proceeding in this manner they very ſoon went through the province of Munſter. The firſt object of their reformation was tithes; they ſwore not to give more than a certain price per acre—not to take from the miniſter at a great price—not to aſſiſt or allow him to be aſſiſted in drawing the tithe, and to permit no proctor. They next took upon them to prevent the collection of pariſh ceſſes—then to nominate pariſh clerks, and in ſome caſes curates—to ſay what church ſhould or ſhould not be repaired; and in one caſe to threaten that they would burn a new church if the old one was not given for a maſs-houſe.

At laſt they proceeded to regulate the price of lands, to raiſe the price of labour, and to oppoſe the collection of the hearth-money and other taxes.

In

In all their proceedings they have ſhewn the greateſt addreſs, with a degree af caution and circumſpection which is the more alarming, as it demonſtrates ſyſtem and deſign. Bodies of 5000 of them have been ſeen to march through the country unarmed, and if met by any magiſtrate, who had ſpirit to queſtion them, they have not offered the ſmalleſt rudeneſs or offence; on the contrary, they have allowed perſons, charged with crimes, to be taken from amongſt them by the magiſtrates alone, unaided with any force.—Wherever they went they found the people as ready to take an oath to cheat the clergy as they were to propoſe it; but if any one did reſiſt, the torments which he was doomed to undergo were too horrible even for ſavages to be ſuppoſed guilty of. In the middle of the night he was dragged from his bed, and buried alive in a grave lined with thorns, or he was ſet naked on horſeback, and tied to a ſaddle covered with thorns;—in addition to this, perhaps his ears were ſawed off.—There is this day an account received of two military men, who had exerted themſelves in the line of their duty, being attacked by a body of rightboys, and I fear murdered, for there is but little hope of their recovering of their wounds. The way in which the rightboys perpetrated this crime was, the two men were walking together, armed, they ſet a dog at them, when one of the men fired; he had no ſooner thrown away his fire, than a multitude ruſhed upon the two from behind the ditches, and wounded them in a moſt ſhocking manner.

Now, upon the beſt enquiry that I have been able to make, it does not appear that there is the leaſt ground to accuſe the clergy of extortion. Far from receiving the tenth, I know of no inſtance in which they receive the twentieth part, I am very well acquainted with the province of Munſter, and I know that it is impoſſible for human wretchedneſs to exceed that of the miſerable peaſantry in that province. I know that the unhappy tenantry are ground to powder by relentleſs

relentleſs landlords—I know that, far from being able to give the clergy their juſt dues, they have not food or raiment for themſelves, the landlord graſps the whole; and ſorry I am to add, that not ſatisfied with the preſent extortion, ſome landlords have been ſo baſe to inſtigate the inſurgents to rob the clergy of their tithes, not in order to alleviate the diſtreſſes of the tenantry, but that they might add the clergy's ſhare to the cruel rack-rents already paid.—I fear it will require the utmoſt ability of parliament to come to the root of thoſe evils. The poor people of Munſter live in a more abject ſtate of poverty than human nature can be ſuppoſed able to bear—their miſeries are intolerable, but they do not originate with the clergy; nor can the legiſlature ſtand by and ſee them take the redreſs into their own hands: Nothing can be done for their benefit while the country remains in a ſtate of anarchy.

Upon the beſt conſideration that I have been able to give the ſubject, two circumſtances, which have contributed to ſpread the commotions, require to be immediately corrected.

The firſt is, that under the preſent exiſting law the kind of combination which pervades the province of Munſter is deemed but a miſdemeanor; it is a bailable offence, and no magiſtrate can refuſe to take bail for it.

The ſecond is, the inſufficiency and criminal neglect of magiſtrates throughout the great county of Cork; there is ſcarcely a magiſtrate that will act. In the neighbourhood of the city of Cork indeed one gentleman, Mr. Mannix, exerted himſelf, much to his own honour and the public benefit. In the weſt of the county, Mr. Cox alſo behaved with great propriety. If other magiſtrates had acted in the ſame manner theſe two gentlemen did, the commotions would not have exiſted for a month.

A right

A right honourable friend of mine has declared, that he thinks it odd that government ſhould have, upon a former occaſion, proſecuted the ſteelboys for high treaſon, and they ſhould have indicted the rightboys for a miſdemeanor only. —I ſhall tell him why? It would be very wicked and very oppreſſive, indeed, for any lawyer to indict a man for high treaſon, where the law had particularly deſcribed his crime and called it a miſdemeanor only; beſides, I am free to own, that if by any ingenuity theſe combinations could be tortured into high treaſon, I would not be very ready to declare the whole province of Munſter in rebellion. At Clonmel, a man was indicted capitally, and though his offence was of a very black dye, and complicated with treachery, yet it was a matter of great difficulty to prevail on a jury to find him guilty, and when they did, they ſtrongly recommended him to mercy.

A charge has been made againſt government for ſuppreſſing informations againſt a ſheriff's bailiff, and from this it has ever wiſely been inferred that government abets the rightboys. Now as I have the information in my hand, I ſhall ſubmit them to the Houſe, and whether it was poſſible to ſtrain an indictment out of it.

This is the information of Daniel Duggan, ſheriff's bailiff, who acknowledges, that on the evening of Monday the 12th of June, returning home to Cloyne, he had occaſion to ſtop ——————. He further confeſſed, that he was then overtaken by two men, one of them a ſlender man in black clothes, who asked his name and where he dwelt; which being told, he asked if he knew Nick Dalton, John Ahern, and William Power? He ſaid he did; on which he deſired him to go and tell them, Captain Right would be with them on Saturday night. He bid the man in black go himſelf, who ſaid, if he did not go, he would make an example. Being therefore in dread of his life, he went to the houſe of Dalton, and

and delivered him the ſaid meſſage; afterwards meeting Ahern on the road, he delivered him ſaid meſſage: And further ſayeth not———

The next is the infoamation of Catherine Ahern, wife of John Ahern. She ſwears, that ſhe came up to her huſband, on the road between Cloyne and her houſe: that he was converſing with Daniel Duggan: that, on her coming up, her huſband told her Duggan had a ſummons for him from the whiteboys: that Duggan made no reply: that deponent and her huſband returned home; and that the man in company with Duggan never ſpoke one word. And further this deponent ſayeth not.

The next is the information of John Ahern. He was met on the road to Cloyne about ten o'clock at night, on the 12th of June, by Daniel Duggan, who aſked him to drink a pot of porter, which he refuſed, it being late. Duggan then put his hand in his pocket, pulled out ſome papers, and ſaid he had a ſum of money for deponent. Deponent apprehending ſaid ſummons was a notice from the perſons called whiteboys, ſaid he would not take it. Duggan then pulled out a handful of papers, which by the little light that then was, deponent believes were ſummonſes; and Duggan ſaid, he had one for him, one for Nick. Dalton, one for James Garvan, and one for William Power, from thoſe gentlemen, meaning, as deponent believes, the whiteboys. The man in black ſpoke not one word, and further this deponent ſayeth not.

Now, I am bold to ſay, that upon theſe informations it would puzzle all the crown lawyers in the three kingdoms to form an indictment, and if I had been in the place of the learned and honourable gentleman that was ſent down to proſecute, I ſhould not have heſitated a moment to have ſuperſeded the committal, and diſcharged the man without bail.—A man pulls out papers, which in the night, another man

man believes to be ſummonſes, and for this he is to be ſent to gaol, and proſecuted for high treaſon. The learned gentleman very properly rejected the information as inſufficient; in ſo doing, he did honour to his judgment, and to the diſcernment of thoſe who employed him, and who could not poſſible have ſelected a man whoſe head and whoſe heart more eminently entitle him to truſt and to confidence.

If any gentleman entertains a doubt concerning the facts I have referred to, I am ready to lay the proofs upon the table. But they are of too great notoriety; therefore, to detain the committee no longer, I move you,

"That it is the opinion of this committee, that ſome further proviſions by ſtatute are indiſpenſably neceſſary to prevent tumultuous riſings and aſſemblies, and for the more adequate and eſſential puniſhment of perſons guilty of outrage, riot and illegal combination, and of adminiſtering and taking unlawful oaths."

A petition was during this ſeſſion preſented to the houſe, from the Preſbyterian Clergy conſtituting the general ſynod of Ulſter; ſetting forth, "that the petitioners have long felt and lamented the inconveniencies ariſing from the want of a ſeminary of learning, ſo conſtituted as to ſuit their circumſtances, for the education of their youth for the ſacred miniſtry in this kingdom; that they have hitherto been obliged to ſend their ſons abroad to be inſtructed at foreign univerſities, at the hazard of their perſonal ſafety, at an increaſed expence, and a conſiderable annual loſs to the nation; that ſome efforts have been lately made to eſtabliſh an inſtitution of this kind in the north, but that the petitioners find that the expenſes of ſuch an undertaking muſt greatly exceed the ability of individuals, and that unleſs a ſupport more ample and permanent than that which can ariſe from private ſubſcriptions be obtained, they muſt deſpair of carrying their wiſhes

wiſhes into effect. In that ſituation, to whom ſhould the petitioners look for aſſiſtance but to thoſe who are ſet to watch for the public proſperity, to whom the purſe of the nation is committed, and who, in ſo many inſtances, have diſcovered a laudable diſpoſition to apply it to purpoſes both honourable and uſeful? The petitioners are happy to perceive that the preſent juncture affords encouragement to apply to the wiſdom of the Houſe for their aſſiſtance with the confidence of hope. The wiſh that his Majeſty has graciouſly expreſſed, that ſome plan might be adopted for the more general improvement of education in this kingdom, and the prompt reſolution of the Houſe to comply with his Majeſty's paternal inclination, embolden them to hope for favourable attention, for the petitioners cannot ſuffer themſelves to think that his Majeſty's proteſtant ſubjects, the preſbyterians of Ireland, will be excluded from the benefits of ſo enlarged a policy. The petitioners think it unneceſſary to point out particularly to the Houſe the advantages which would ariſe from complying with their preſent wiſhes; they only beg leave to ſuggeſt that it would mark the liberality and equity of the Houſe, be an obliging gratification to a very numerous and reſpectable body of his Majeſty's loyal ſubjects, prove a conſiderable national ſaving, and add to the credit of this kingdom, by extending its literature and civilization: With expectations thus founded, therefore the petitioners apply to the generoſity of the Houſe, humbly requeſting ſuch aid for inſtituting and ſupporting an academy or academies for educating their youth for the ſacred function, under the ſuperintendence and direction of the general ſynod of Ulſter as to the Houſe ſhall ſeem meet. "———This petition was not complied with.

The Lord Lieutenant at the opening of this ſeſſion, intimated in his ſpeech that his Majeſty had concluded a treaty of navigation and commerce with France; it was therefore now referr'd to a committee of the whole houſe to take that part of his Excellencies ſpeech into conſideration: and the committee made the following report.

1. Reſolved,

1. Reſolved, that it appears to this committee to be expedient that all articles of the growth, produce or manufacture of the European dominions of the French King, which are not ſpecified in the ſixth article of the treaty of navigation and commerce between his Britannic Majeſty and the Moſt Chriſtian King, ſigned at Verſailles the 16th of September, 1786, ſhall be imported into this kingdom on payment of duties as low as any which ſhall be payable on the importation of the like articles from any other European nation.

2. Reſolved, that it appears to this committee to be expedient that the duty to be paid on wines imported directly from France into Ireland ſhall be no higher than thoſe duties which they now pay.

3. Reſolved, that it appears to this committee that the duty hereafter to be paid upon beer, the produce or manufacture of the European dominions of the French King, imported into this kingdom, ſhall be at the rate of 30l. per centum ad valorem.

4. Reſolved, that it appears to this committee to be expedient that the duty hereafter to be paid for all cabinet work and turnery, and for all inſtruments of muſic, being of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French King, imported into this kingdom, ſhall be at the rate of 10l. per centum ad valorem.

5. Reſolved, that it appears to this committee to be expedient that the duty hereafter to be paid for all articles compoſed of iron or ſteel ſeparately or mixed, or worked or mounted with other ſubſtances, ſuch articles being of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French King, and not exceeding in their value 50s. Britiſh, or 54s. 2d. Iriſh currency, by the hundred weight, imported into this kingdom, ſhall be at the rate of 5l. per centum ad valorem.

6. Reſolved,

6. Reſolved, that it appears to this committee to be expedient that the duty hereafter to be paid for all articles compoſed of iron or ſteel ſeparately or mixed, or worked or mounted with other ſubſtances, and exceeding in their value 50s. Britiſh, or 54s. 2d. Iriſh currency, by the hundred weight; and for all buttons, buckles, knives or ſciſſars, and for all other articles of hardware or cutlery, and for all articles compoſed of copper and braſs ſeparately or mixed, or worked or mounted with other ſubſtances, ſuch articles being of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French King, imported into this kingdom, ſhall be at the rate of 10l. per centum ad valorem.

7. Reſolved, that it appears to this committee to be expedient that the duty hereafter to be paid upon all ſorts of cottons and woollens, whether knit or woven, including hoſiery, the product or manufacture of the European dominions of the French King, imported into this kingdom, ſhall be at the rate of 12l. per centum ad valorem.

8. Reſolved, that it appears to this committee to be expedient that the duty hereafter to be paid upon all linens made of flax or hemp, of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French King, imported into this kingdom, ſhall be no higher than the duty which linens the manufacture of Holland imported into this kingdom now pay.

9. Reſolved, that it appears to this committee to be expedient that the duty hereafter to be paid for cambricks and lawns, being of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French King, imported into this kingdom, ſhall be for every demi piece of cambrick, and for every demi piece of lawn, not exceeding ſeven yards and three quarters of a yard Engliſh meaſure in length, and not being above the value of 50s. Britiſh, or 54s. 2d. Iriſh currency, reſpectively 55. 5d. and ſo in proportion for any greater length; and that

that the duty for any cambrick imported in demi pieces exceeding ſeven-eighths of a yard Engliſh meaſure in breadth, and for any lawn imported in pieces exceeding one yard and a quarter Engliſh meaſure in breadth, and being above the value of 50s. Britiſh, or 54s. 2d. Iriſh currency, reſpectively, ſhall be 10l. per centum ad valorem.

10. Reſolved, that it appears to this committee to be expedient that the duty hereafter to be paid upon all ſaddlery of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French King, imported into this kingdom, ſhall be at the rate of 15l. per centum ad valorem.

11. Reſolved, that it appears to this committee to be expedient that the duty hereafter to be paid upon gauzes of all ſorts of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French King, imported into this kingdom, ſhall be at the rate of 10l. per centum ad valorem.

12. Reſolved, that it appears to this committee to be expedient that the duty hereafter to be paid upon the importation into this kingdom of millinery made up of muſlin, lawn, cambrick or gauze of any kind, or of any other article ſpecified in the ſixth article of the ſaid treaty of navigation and commerce, of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French King, ſhall be at the rate of 12l. per centum ad valorem; and that if any article not ſo ſpecified, and which may be legally imported into this kingdom, ſhall be uſed in ſuch millinery, ſuch articles ſhall pay duties as if ſeparately imported into this kingdom.

13. Reſolved, that it appears to this committee to be expedient that the duty hereafter to be paid upon all porcelains, earthen-ware and pottery of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French King, imported into this kingdom, ſhall be at the rate of 12l. per centum ad valorem.

14. Reſolved,

14. Reſolved, that it appears to this committee to be expedient that the duty hereafter to be paid upon all glaſs and glaſs-ware of the manufacture of the European dominion of the French King, imported into this kingdom, ſhall be at the rate of 12l. per centum ad valorem.

15. Reſolved, that it appears to this committee to be expedient that beer, being of the manufacture of the European dominions of the French King, imported into this kingdom, ſhall pay, over and above the duty to be paid on the importation thereof, a further duty ſufficient to countervail the internal duty actually paid on beer brewed in Ireland.

Upon theſe reſolutions Mr. Ogilvie ſpoke as follows, viz. —, I am extremely ſenſible how much I ſtand in need of the kind indulgence of the Houſe, in attempting to enter upon the conſideration of a ſubject of ſo extenſive a nature as the preſent treaty; and can aſſure them, that the difficulty attending ſo arduous an undertaking would have been more than ſufficient to deter me from the attempt, if the great importance of the queſtion did not demand the moſt ſerious examination, and ſeem to call on every man who has turned his thoughts to commercial ſubjects, to lay his ſentiments on the preſent occaſion before the Houſe.

At the ſame time, that I feel this neceſſity, I muſt beg leave to premiſe that it is not my intention to enter at large into the ſubject, as a political arrangement between two mighty empires, nor to examine what may be its probable operation on either ſtate in the great ſcale of Europe: neither is it my object to enquire into the effects it may produce on the trade and manufactures, the revenues and finances of Great Britain: I feel myſelf very unequal to the former inveſtigation; and as to the latter, ſince the preſent treaty has been framed by the Britiſh cabinet, and cannot be carried into execution but by the approbation of the Britiſh parliament

ment, if in the event the treaty ſhall be carried into effect by that approbation, I conceive that we are bound to conclude, that it will upon the whole ſecure conſiderable advantages to all thoſe great intereſts, however it may appear to us to entail conſiderable diſadvantages on ſome of them in certain particulars—and that the balance of benefit is effectually ſecured to that kingdom.

Under that conviction, I ſhall proceed to take a view of the treaty as it may affect the intereſts of Ireland, conſidered excluſively and without any reference to thoſe of Great Britain: And am free to declare on this ground, and under the above qualification, that on the moſt fair and impartial examination I have been able to give it, the preſent treaty with France, as ſimply affecting the trade and commerce of Ireland, meets with my approbation. Nay, I will even go further and declare, that abſtracted from the idea of a common intereſt between Great Britain and Ireland, the preſent treaty may be highly dangerous, and even injurious to Great Britain, and yet highly advantageous to Ireland. Whoever for a moment adverts to the great difference in the ſituation of the two kingdoms, will readily ſee the juſtice of this obſervation: Great Britain, at the zenith of her greatneſs, and ſummit of manufacturing excellence, had every thing to apprehend from overturning the whole ſyſtem that has raiſed her to her preſent envied ſituation. If the experiment fails, ſhe is ruined. Nay, if it ſucceeds to her utmoſt wiſhes, ſhe will ſtill run a greater riſk than prudence would poſſibly juſtify, where ſo much depended on the uncertainty of the event. This may at firſt appear a paradox, but a ſlight degree of conſideration will explain my meaning. If the French trade proves advantageous, it will divert the Britiſh manufactures from the other markets of Europe, which they now enjoy, to this new channel. And the more advantageous the French trade proves, the more will the Ruſſian, the German, the Spaniſh, and the Portugueſe markets be neglected. If, when the Britiſh ma-

nufactures and capital have got conſiderably engaged in the French trade, war ſhould break out between the two kingdoms, and ſuch a circumſtance is by no means improbable, what ſhort of ruin to the Britiſh manufactures and to the ſtate would be the conſequence? And if the balance of trade ſhould be greatly againſt France, as ſoon as ſhe has got poſſeſſion of the machinery uſed in the Britiſh manufactures, a war would be the cheapeſt way for her to extricate herſelf from ſuch a ſituation. But Ireland, in the infancy of her progreſs, has little to loſe and a great deal to gain; any change almoſt from the preſent ſtate would be an advantage; and ſhe may ſafely venture an experiment where the risk is trifling, and the proſpect of advantage conſiderable. Great Britain cannot forget that the American war gave independence to the Iriſh legiſlature; I ſincerely hope that no future calamity to the ſtate may give an extenſion to her trade and her manufactures.

I ſhall now proceed, to give ſome reaſons for the opinion I have advanced, that the preſent treaty will be advantageous to the trade of Ireland; and ſhall conſider its effects firſt on the imports, and then on the exports. As I mean hereafter to take a particular view of the tariff, I ſhall at preſent obſerve that beſides the four great articles of wine, brandy, vinegar and oil, every man who is acquainted with the ſtate of the French manufactures muſt know, that a great variety of articles will be imported from that kingdom into Ireland. But as thoſe will almoſt entirely conſiſt of the finer manufactures and luxuries, which are at preſent ſupplied from Great Britain, the diſadvantage reſulting from this importation will affect the Britiſh manufacturer much more than the Iriſh; and as far as it ſhall go, will be a loſs to that kingdom; for in the ſpecies of manufactures in which Ireland has hitherto reſiſted the competition with Great Britain, ſhe will have little to apprehend from France, except in one inſtance that I ſhall mention hereafter; and in the fineſt branches France

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muſt underſell Great Britain before ſhe can ſend hers into this kingdom; which competition will be a partial advantage to Ireland, by lowering the price to the conſumer. For as to its increaſing the quantity of imports, I ſhould think there is not much to be apprehended, as the imports muſt ever be bound and regulated by the ability of the conſumers, and if that increaſes, the increaſed import will not be an additional injury. The loſs in this branch will be entirely, I apprehend, to Britain, and is one part of the purchaſe ſhe pays for her treaty. And I ſhall beg leave to congratulate the Houſe on the firſt inſtance of her giving up a monopoly. I wiſh for her ſake that the ſacrifice had been made to an old and faithful relation, rather than to a new and untried friend.

In turning to the exports, the firſt object that naturally preſents itſelf is the linen manufacture.—And here I am happy to declare, from the authority of ſome of the moſt intelligent men in the trade, that they conſider the duty, as the right honourable gentleman has aſſured us it is now ſettled, ſufficient to protect the home market againſt all competition from the Flemiſh and French low priced goods, while the fine linens of this kingdom will find their way into France under that duty.—And though fine linens are not at this day in general uſe in France, it is impoſſible, from the friendly intercourſe and cloſe connexion that is likely to follow from this treaty, but that the fine linens of Ireland muſt grow into faſhion with the refined nation of France; and whenever it does, ſuch is the ſuperior excellence and intrinſic merit of this manufacture, that it will undoubtedly ſtand its ground againſt all competition. Diapers and damaſks are in the ſame ſituation; they have been but lately introduced, but are in great requeſt among the moſt faſhionable ranks, and as ſoon as they are more generally known they cannot fail of finding a certain and advantageous market in France: —And though cambricks will certainly ſuffer, I conſider this partial inconvenience more than compenſated by the benefit that will ariſe to the other branches of the trade. There

There is another extenſive branch of exports, that I am almoſt aſhamed to mention within theſe walls, that will derive no inconſiderable advantage from the intercourſe with France; and though wretched indeed muſt the policy of that nation be, that conſiders the export of raw materials as an advantage, yet, as it has been ſo ſtated from the other ſide of the Houſe in the late commercial negociations with Britain, when it was ſeriouſly propoſed to ſecure and continue this advantage to Ireland for ever, I am founded in ſaying that as far as it is an advantage, that advantage will be increaſed by the facility we ſhall derive from the treaty in ſending our wool, worſted, yarn, and linen yarn, our raw hides and tallow, to our new French friends. But, if this treaty takes place, I hope we ſhall ſee a more enlightened ſyſtem brought forward, and that Ireland ſhall not continue to be the only manufacturing ſtate in Europe, that does not guard ſo valuable materials of manufacture by a duty on the export; and in recommending a duty, I do not mean a prohibiting duty, but ſuch a regulated duty as ſhould give a deciſive preference to the Iriſh manufactures in the articles of Iriſh produce.

Having thus, made ſome general obſervations as they occur on the firſt view, I ſhall proceed to ſtate the further advantage that the preſent treaty offers to Ireland, by ſlightly touching on the ſeparate articles of the tariff, and briefly ſtating the advantages and likewiſe the diſadvantages, likely to ariſe from each article, as they appear to me.

The firſt thing that naturally ſtrikes the ſlighteſt obſerver on this part of the treaty, is, that the firſt four articles contain excluſive benefits to the four great ſtaple commodities of France, wine, brandy, vinegar and oil, without any adequate compenſation on the part of Great Britain, for except theſe four, every other article of the treaty reciprocates, and I am utterly at a loſs to account for the conduct of the able negociator

ciator who tranſacted the treaty, in making ſo great and important conceſſions to France, without any valuable conſideration ſecured to Great Britain in return.

As to the next article, beer, conſidering the increaſing taſte for porter in France, I ſhould not deſpair of Ireland's receiving ſome advantage from it; for if ſhe can afford to ſell her porter at the French market in any degree cheaper than the Britiſh, I am perſuaded that the French would prefer the light porter of Ireland to the heavy liquor of Great Britain.

As to the object of the ſixth article, if I were to follow the reaſoning of a great authority, Lord Sheffield, and Mr. Gibbon, I might argue that Ireland would be able to meet Great Britain at the French market, in ſeveral articles of iron ware; but I am much more inclined, on this occaſion, to agree with an honourable baronet oppoſite to me, in declaring my opinion that Ireland cannot poſſibly derive any advantage in this branch of trade.

As to furniture and turnery wares, I am ſorry to differ ſo widely from the right honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as to declare my firm belief that France will ſend conſiderable quantities of both articles, not only to Ireland but alſo to Great Britain; the ſuperior taſte of French furniture and toys being generally known, and univerſally admitted.

I am ſorry to ſay that the firſt part of the next article is likely, in my opinion, to prove ſtill more adverſe to Ireland, by ſtriking almoſt at the root of her infant cotton manufactures, for as ſhe is already underſold by Britain in the finer ſpecies of this manufacture, ſo I think it may juſtly be apprehended that France will be able to underſel not only the Iriſh, but even the Britiſh manufacturer in the coarſer branches;

branches; for France poſſeſſes almoſt a monopoly of the raw materials, and has, I underſtand, ever ſince the concluſion of the preſent treaty, impoſed a new duty of thirty per cent. on the export of raw cotton; which clearly proves the determination of purſuing this object with vigour; and there is no inſtance where ſhe has done ſo, even under much more unfavourable circumſtances, that her exertions have not been crowned with ſucceſs.

As to the ſecond part, woollens, &c. I think Ireland ſtands a better chance. For though France, as I conceive, will be able to import old drapery into this kingdom, the French ſcarlets, blacks, blues, and fancy goods, being to my knowledge infinitely ſuperior to the Engliſh, the loſs on this importation will be to the Britiſh rather than the Iriſh manufacturer; whereas the latter will derive great and certain benefit from the exportation of new drapery, as I have the authority of the firſt manufacturers in that line, examined at your bar in the year 1782, to declare that Ireland could even then underſel Britain in ſingle ſtuffs and ſerges: if to theſe ſhe can add camblets, as I believe ſhe can, ſhe will find a certain and ready market in France, where that ſpecies of goods is in general uſe; beſides the quantities ſhe now exports to the Levant; and although ſome men, whoſe aſſertions have great weight with me, aſſert that Ireland is not ſufficiently poſſeſſed of the raw materials to rival in this manufacture, yet the ſingle circumſtance of her having exported laſt year 75,000 ſtone of worſted yarn, is an unanſwerable proof that ſhe may extend it conſiderably beyond what it is at preſent.

I have already ſaid ſo much about linens, that I ſhall but add, that Ireland is ſo well ſituated in every reſpect, that ſhe muſt in a little time, in conſequence of the great market opened to her by this treaty, engroſs the whole trade in printed linens; as it is impoſſible that Britiſh capital ſhould not be employed in a buſineſs that promiſes ſuch certainty of ſucceſs.

ſucceſs. There is alſo another branch of this buſineſs, known by the name of the ſmall ware trade, conſiſting of tapes, garters, &c. &c. which, if I can credit the authority of Mr. Thomas Smith of Mancheſter, as ſtated in his letter to Mr. Walker, read in evidence at the bar of the Britiſh houſe of Commons, while the Iriſh propoſitions were before that Houſe, cannot fail of proving highly advantageous to Ireland. For, inſignificant as that branch may appear, that gentleman ſtates that 3000 people are employed in it at Mancheſter; and ſo decided is the ſuperiority that Ireland enjoys in this branch, that Mr. Smith declared his reſolution of emigrating with his property, to eſtabliſh that manufacture here if the propoſitions paſſed. As a proof of the ſuperior advantage to be derived from eſtabliſhing this trade in Ireland, I ſhould only mention that ſhe exported laſt year no leſs than 31,062 cwt. of linen yarn.

But the great and moſt eſſential advantage, after linen, to be derived from this treaty, I conceive to ariſe from the next article, of ſaddlery, particularly if the explanation given of this general term be juſt, as comprehending not only articles that can barely paſs under that name, but every ſpecies of leather manufacture, as boots, ſhoes, and gloves. The houſe will perhaps be ſurprized to hear that Ireland exported laſt year no leſs than 79,581 raw hides, 19,756 dozen of calves ſkins, and 1444 cwt. of kid and lamb ſkins:—a ſad and convincing proof of the wretchedneſs and poverty of this country! On the ſubject of the diſturbances of the ſouth, that have ſo lately engaged the attention of this Houſe, we all ſeemed to admit that poverty and diſtreſs had been one very material cauſe of the diſorders in that part of the kingdom, in whatever manner that poverty had been occaſioned. With ſuch valuable ſources of wealth and induſtry within the kingdom, ſhould it not be well worth the conſideration of an intelligent adminiſtration to attempt to carry them into operation? I could venture to aſſure them that finding employment for

for the people would do more to ſecure the peace of ſociety, than all the penal laws ever enacted. It was ſtated, on the occaſion I have already mentioned, at the bar of the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, that from twenty to thirty thouſand men were employed in Scotland in working for the export trade of boots and ſhoes; and it is equally certain, to the conviction of every man who hears me, that Ireland can underſel Great Britain in this trade by at leaſt 20 per cent. So that in the article of boots alone, which are lately become faſhionable in France, ſhe can expect great and certain advantages. This buſineſs indeed requires a capital, which is not readily to be found as yet in Ireland; but I ſhould think that the certainty of a great profit would infallibly draw Britiſh capital into this kingdom, if the peace of the country were properly ſecured. Iriſh gloves are ſought after in France, and I ſhould think may enter into the trade.

Gauzes, I conceive, cannot be much injured, Millinery appears of too delicate a conſtruction to be brought from ſo great a diſtance in any great quantity, as a pattern will anſwer the ſame purpoſe; and porcelain we imported under lower duties before the treaty. Plate glaſs we ſhall receive from France, and ſend her Iriſh cut glaſs in return: and ſo decided are the advantages of Ireland in this latter branch, that ſhe certainly ought very conſiderably to underſel Great Britain at the French market; for the Britiſh manufacturers proved that, after receiving the drawback, the exciſe duty left a charge of 20 per cent. on the exportation, excluſive of the local advantages ariſing to the Iriſh manufacturer from cheap proviſion, cheap labour, and lower taxes. And I am happy to add, that I have ſeen, as I believe every man in this Houſe has, a girandole exhibited as a ſpecimen from the glaſs manufacture at Waterford, which in taſte, beauty and execution is not inferior to any ever made in England; and as Waterford is very happily ſituated for that buſineſs, I hope there can be no doubt of its ſucceſs.

Having

Having thus given a fair and impartial view of the operation of the treaty, as it appears to me, on the trade of France and Ireland, I ſhall briefly ſtate the exports of each at a general view of the whole. On the ſide of France I ſhould place wine, brandy, vinegar, oil, furniture, turnery, toys, cambricks, fine cloth, courſe cottons, millinery, porcelain, and plate glaſs. On the ſide of Ireland, the proviſion trade as before, in beef, butter, pork, &c. &c. candles, a ſhare in the corn trade, and of the beer; new drapery in its various branches, fine linen, diaper, damaſk, tapes, ſaddlery, boots, ſhoes, gloves, and cut glaſs. In all which, without ſome unaccountable miſmanagement, Ireland ought to be able to ſupport a competition with ſimilar articles from Britain, at the French market.

On conſidering the above ſtatement, the juſtice of the obſervation I have already made will appear indiſputable, that the increaſe of French imports will affect the Britiſh manufacturer much more than the Iriſh, whereas the encreaſe of the Iriſh exports will be entirely to the advantage of Ireland.

Let me beg leave now to call the attention of the houſe to the advantages that Ireland will enjoy in the trade to France over and above what ſhe would have had in a trade to Britain, as offered in a bill propoſed for that purpoſe by the right honourable gentleman [Mr. Orde]. In the French market Ireland can meet Britain with all the advantages of her ſituation, and at the ſame import duties. In the Britiſh market, her manufactures were firſt to have been ſubject to an import duty of 10½ per cent. and then to countervailing duties, which in moſt inſtances could not be leſs than from 20 to 30 per cent. Now, if even under this immenſe duty the Britiſh manufacturers declared, that they ſhould not be ſafe againſt Iriſh competition, but would emigrate to Ireland and eſtabliſh their manufactures here, I hope the gentlemen will not act

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up to their declarations, as in the preſent inſtance the temptation to emigrate is much ſtronger than it was on a former occaſion. And indeed, as a manufacturer ſeems to me, from his aſſertions, to be very much a man of the world, without any other attachment to country than as it promotes his private intereſt, I ſhould not be ſurprized if, in conſequence of this treaty, numbers ſhould emigrate to France, as well as Ireland. One important advantage therefore, that Ireland derived from the preſent treaty with France was, that it for ever precluded a poſſibility of the right honourable gentleman's bill being offered to them again, and ſet them on higher ground in any future arrangement with Great Britain than they had ſtood on before; for in addition to what I have ſtated above, Great Britain has in the preſent inſtance ſtipulated for countervailing duties, on only certain articles of French imports, whereas ſhe inſiſted on every article of Iriſh manufacture being ſubject to them, which would have very generally operated as prohibitions. Another, and no inconſiderable advantage to Ireland, is the advantage of precedent; for here is on your table a commercial treaty without any reſtrictions on the legiſlative authority of either of the contracting parties; for the parliament of Paris had neither engaged to regiſter the acts of the Britiſh parliament, nor the Britiſh parliament to enact the edicts of the French king. Every pretence, therefore, drawn from the neceſſity of a commercial arrangement, to juſtify any reſtriction of the legiſlative and deliberative powers of this Houſe, is done away for ever.

But, as it is evident that every obligation made by the Britiſh manufacturers, to an arrangement with Ireland two years ago, applies with infinitely greater force under this treaty, not only to Ireland, but to France alſo, to what motive can we aſcribe their vociferous oppoſition on the one occaſion, and their ſilent acquieſcence on the other? Is it not fair, to conclude from ſo contradictory a conduct, that being already

already in poſſeſſion of every advantage that Ireland could beſtow, they were deaf to the ſuggeſtions of juſtice and gratitude, and obſtinately perſiſted in refuſing to extend the ſlighteſt poſſibility of a reciprocal benefit to their ſiſter kingdom: but that in order to acquire a new market in France, they were ready, not only to incur a certain loſs as the purchaſers, but likewiſe to riſk the very exiſtence of their country to gratify their avarice? After ſuch a conduct, it will be impoſſible for them to find an honeſt man in either Houſe of Parliament to ſupport their intereſted pretenſions and unfair claims, in caſe of any future commercial adjuſtment between the two kingdoms. Nor has the conduct of the right honourable gentleman on the floor [Mr. Orde] been leſs remarkable.—On a former occaſion he dealt out long-winded orations, graced and ſet off with the high ſounding terms of mart, monopoly and emporium. On the preſent occaſion, his pompous aſſumption had dwindled into a modeſt diffidence; he heſitated—he faultered—and the words expired feebly in his trembling lips. How ſhall we account for ſuch difference of conduct? Shall we believe, as I ſincerely hope, that the right honourable gentleman's was a political ſickneſs? Did he imagine that any arguments coming from him in ſupport of a commercial arrangement would have no weight with this Houſe; and that his appearing indifferent to the fate of the treaty, was the ſureſt way to recommend it to the protection of the friends of the people? Or did he actually believe that the treaty would be productive of great and important advantages to the trade and manufactures of this kingdom, and really ſicken at the proſpect?

Having thus, treſpaſſed ſo long on the patience of the Houſe, in conſidering the commercial part of the treaty, may I beg leave to requeſt their further indulgence, to add only a few words on the conſequences likely to ariſe from it to the political ſtate of Ireland, as ultimately connected with Great Britain in one common intereſt, and a member of the ſame empire. It

It has ever been my decided opinion, that the mercantile intereſts of a ſtate deſerve every poſſible degree of encouragement and protection; but that they ſtill ought to be conſidered only in a ſecondary light, as ſubſervient to the landed intereſt. As I defy any man to point out an inſtance of any ſtate, in which the mercantile intereſt has acquired the aſcendancy in the direction of foreign affairs, and the formation of treaties, where the ruin of that ſtate has been the certain and immediate conſequence; to illuſtrate this aſſertion, I ſhall give but two examples; the one drawn from the hiſtory of the great commercial ſtate of Carthage; while her Hamilcars and Hannibals at the head of her nobility and landed intereſt, directed her government, ſhe was able not only to reſiſt the power of the Roman empire, but to carry her victorious arms to the very gates of the enemy's capital, and to threaten Rome with deſtruction: But no ſooner had the government got into the hands of Hanno, and the mercantile intereſt, than a ſad reverſe took place, their armies were recalled, their ſucceſsful leaders diſgraced—a league of feigned friendſhip ſucceeded to natural hoſtility—the market of the Roman empire was too great a temptation to be reſiſted by the merchants and manufacturers of Carthage; a treaty of commerce was entered into, and in leſs than fifty years, the total ruin of their ſtate was the conſequence of their credulity and avarice.

Nor is the preſent ſituation of Holland a leſs ſtriking example of the truth of the above obſervation. While the princes of the Houſe of Orange, at the head of the nobility and landed intereſt, directed the government of the ſtates, they were able, even in the infancy of their exiſtence, not only to ſtem the encroaching violence of the French arms, but to tear the triumphant laurels from the brow of their haughty monarch, Louis XIV. But how dreadful has been the reverſe ſince their government has fallen into the hands of the democracy and the mercantile intereſt! They have formed leagues

leagues of friendſhip, and treaties of commerce with their former enemy; their fleets and armies have been neglected—their honour and dignity ſacrificed to their avarice. And from the dignified ſituation they once held in the ſcale of Europe, they have dwindled into an inſignificant province under the protection of that very kingdom whoſe arms they formerly reſiſted with ſucceſs. The firſt part of the parallel, in both inſtances, applies ſtrictly to the hiſtory of Great Britain, with reſpect to France; and while ſimilar cauſes continue to produce ſimilar effects, I can ſee no reaſon to expect an extraordinary interpoſition in our favour.

In ſuch a proſpect there is certainly much ſerious matter of apprehenſion; for though every man in this Houſe is convinced, that whatever enmity France may ſtill harbour towards Britain, ſhe bears no enmity to Ireland; yet this kingdom will ever, I hope, have the good ſenſe to adopt the ſentiments of this Houſe, in rejecting the dangerous and fatal doctrines of ſeparate intereſts; and that the depreſſion of the one is the elevation of the other. If the conduct of Britain towards Ireland has hitherto been chargeable with proceeding on ſuch narrow views, I hope a more enlightened policy towards this kingdom will be one immediate conſequence of the preſent treaty. Britain muſt now recede and do juſtice to Ireland.

The miniſter who framed the treaty could not poſſibly be aware of the ſituation in which it puts the connexion between the two kingdoms; for I cannot believe that it could be his intention to grant to the ſubjects of France indulgences that have been hitherty refuſed to the fellow ſubjects in Ireland; nor to ſend the ſhips and manufactures of Ireland to the ports of France to receive the benefits and advantages that have been denied them in thoſe of Britain. Such a ſyſtem would be little ſhort of inſanity—juſtice therefore muſt be done to Ireland—every thing on her part has already been done for

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Great Britain;—her ports have not only been opened to the importation of every ſpecies of Britiſh manufacture, but alſo to the export of every ſort of raw materials, to the great and manifeſt injury of her own manufactures. Her conduct has been not only friendly but liberal in the extreme. I hope ſhe will never again have the weakneſs to make propoſitions to Britain. If Britain ſhall not be induced to follow her generous example, a judicious imitation of Britiſh reſtrictions and prohibitions will ſoon convince her of the danger of driving this kingdom to the neceſſity of taking the redreſs of her grievances into her own hands. She will then repent of her injuſtice when it is too late, and in graſping at too much may loſe all

We have lately, had the internal ſtate of the country, and particularly the province of Munſter, under our conſideration; and if the hints that were thrown out on that occaſion from the oppoſite ſide of the Houſe, of concerted tumult and ſyſtematical inſurrection be at all founded, I leave every man to decide what may be the probable operation of a cloſer connexion with France, every circumſtance conſidered, on the interior peace and government of that province. As I really have never been able to form any decided opinion on the cauſe of thoſe diſorders, I ſhall leave the further conſideration of what I have ſimply adverted to, to the gentlemen beſt acquainted with that province, as I feel myſelf reſtrained by motives of prudence from entering into a minute inveſtigation of ſo delicate a ſubject.

After returning thanks to the Houſe for their kind indulgence, I ſhall conclude with repeating that the preſent treaty, as far as it affects the trade and manufactures of Ireland, abſtracted from every other conſideration, meets with my approbation.

The report was agreed to without any diviſion, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved "That an humble addreſs

dreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, expreſſing our unfeigned thanks to his Majeſty for his Majeſty's gracious communication of the treaty of navigation and commerce concluded between his Majeſty and the moſt Chriſtian King; that, ever ſolicitous to encreaſe the ſources of mutual proſperity in Great Britain and Ireland, we humbly entreat his Majeſty to accept our grateful acknowledgments for the preſent ſignal inſtance of royal attention to our common intereſts in treaties with foreign ſtates; and we retain the firmeſt confidence of an equal care in his royal breaſt on all ſimilar occaſions. That we humbly thank his Majeſty for the proviſions made by this treaty to ſecure and extend our manufactures upon ſuch a liberal foundation of reciprocity as gives aſſurance that the treaty will be permanent; and that we truſt that an habitual intercourſe of commercial intereſts and good offices with the kingdom of France will excite in us a friendly emulation in the induſtrious arts of peace; that we ſhall immediately enter upon the conſideration of the proper means to give effect to the conditions of the treaty, and to enable his Majeſty fully to carry into execution engagements which appear to us to be founded in wiſdom and equity, and to afford a beneficial encouragement to the encreaſing efforts of the nation in manufacture and commerce."

The motion for the addreſs paſſed without a diviſion.

The houſe having met on the 13th March, the Speaker reported that the houſe had attended his Grace the Lord Lieutenant with the addreſs of both houſes of parliament to his Majeſty, and that thereupon his Grace was pleaſed to return the anſwer following.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"I will immediately tranſmit this dutiful and loyal addreſs to be laid before his Majeſty."

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On the ſame day, the Chancellor of the Exchequer preſented to the houſe, according to order, a bill for continuing "an act for facilitating the trade and intercourſe between this kingdom and the united ſtates of America."

Mr. Grattan alſo moved the houſe to come to the following reſolution, viz.——"that if it ſhall appear at the commencement of the next ſeſſion of Parliament, that public tranquility has been reſtored in thoſe parts of the kingdom that have been lately diſturbed, and due obedience paid to the laws, this houſe will take into conſideration the ſubject of *Tythes*, and endeavour to form ſome plan for the honorable ſupport of the clergy, and the eaſe of the people."

After much debate, the queſtion was put for going into the order of the day (for the purpoſe of ſuperceding Mr. Grattan's motion) and it was carried without a diviſion.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Bill introduced to limit the amount of penſions—ſpeech of Mr. Forbes—ſtate of national education—ſpeech and motion of Secretary Orde thereupon—reſolutions—principal bills paſſed this ſeſſion—cloſe of the ſeſſion 1787—Lord Lieutenant's ſpeech—prorogation—death of the Duke of Rutland—lord Juſtices appointed—Marquis of Buckingham appointed Lord Lieutenant.

A Bill was introduced for limiting the amount of Penſions which had now ſo conſiderably increaſed that the penſion liſt amounted to the ſum of £104,133 : 17 : 11½

Mr. Forbes having moved that this bill ſhould be read a ſecond time, the Chancellor of the Exchequer obſerved that the ſame bill was introduced before and rejected and as nothing had occurred to make the bill more proper now, than heretofore, he would move that it ſhould have its ſecond reading on the 1ſt of Auguſt.

Mr. Forbes in reply ſaid that he felt himſelf encouraged to perſevere in urging the preſent meaſure reſpecting penſions, from the mode of reſiſtance offered by the enemies to that meaſure, both this ſeſſion and the laſt; inſtead of moving to adjourn the conſideration of his bill to a diſtant day, they would have met it with a direct negative, were they not conſcious that the principle of the bill could not be controverted; therefore, from the conduct of the Houſe, he was

warranted in affirming that the principle of the bill was admitted; he derived confidence alſo from the reflection, that as great a neceſſity exiſted for the meaſure in this ſeſſion as the laſt, conſidering the bill either as a meaſure of conſtitution or œconomy; of conſtitution, as adminiſtration granted ſince laſt ſeſſion a penſion during pleaſure to a member of the Houſe; of œconomy, as the experience of this ſeſſion had proved that unleſs ſome ſyſtem of retrenchment was adopted, no increaſe of revenues however conſiderable could equalize the expences of the country to its income, and prevent the further accumulation of debt. He ſtated the exceſs of the public expence over its income for the four laſt years, and that from the ſtatement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the like exceſs was to be apprehended next year. He obſerved, that in the preſent ſituation of the finances, parliament were reduced to the alternative of either impoſing new taxes, or adopting a ſyſtem of retrenchment. That from the preſent circumſtances of the country, it was impoſſible any additional taxes could be productive; additional taxes muſt annihilate our manufactures by encreaſing the price of the neceſſaries of life, and of courſe that of labour; the maſs of the people could not bear any greater burthens. It had been ſtated in the Houſe this ſeſſion, that a conſiderable portion of the inhabitants of this country, the Peaſantry of the South, were in a moſt wretched and diſtreſſed condition; he aſked if any additional taxes could be paid by them; if there was any attempt made to tax them, could any thing be extracted from their poverty and miſery, but tears and execrations? If an addition of tax was impoſed on the land, the landed intereſt, already depreſſed, muſt be abſolutely impoveriſhed.

Under theſe circumſtances it was a duty incumbent on the Houſe to adopt an effectual ſyſtem of œconomy, and adhere to it with firmneſs and perſeverance. Influenced by theſe conſiderations, he ſaid that he and ſome of his friends had applied themſelves to the inveſtigation of the public accounts this

ſeſſion,

ſeſſion, and had propoſed many meaſures in the committee of accounts for the purpoſe of effecting retrenchment in different articles of the public expenditure; but every propoſition of this nature had been reſiſted by the miniſter. His reaſons for preferring a bill on the ſubject of penſions, to reſolutions, was that experience had proved the inſufficiency of the latter. That he objected to reſolutions, as if they were directed againſt particular penſions, they might have appearance of perſonality, which he wiſhed to avoid.

He obſerved, that after every other attempt to eſtabliſh a ſyſtem of retrenchment had been fruſtrated, to the preſent meaſure he had reſorted as the laſt expedient for the relief of the country; and the reſiſtance of the miniſter to this meaſure, could not fail of convincing the Houſe and the country, that adminiſtration had formed a determination to reſiſt every propoſition which tended to eſtabliſh a ſyſtem of retrenchment. He then adverted to the diviſion he had made of the ſubject, in point of œconomy and conſtitution. Viewing his bill as a meaſure of œconomy, he ſaid, that every impartial man muſt admit that, from the preſent enormous amount of the penſion liſt, it was one of the moſt obvious and proper objects for retrenchment. He alſo obſerved, that in the amount of penſions, which he had ſtated, he had not included ſalaries of a certain deſcription, which were, in effect, penſions; as conſiderable ſalaries within a few years, added to packers and ſearchers in ports where a ſhip never enters, or a bale of goods never lands; alſo to offices, to which no other duty is annexed than that of going twice in a year to the treaſury to receive thoſe ſalaries, and coming down to the Houſe to ſupport the miniſter. He ſaid that the preſent penſion liſt was not now neceſſary to the ſupport of government as an inſtrument of patronage, as of late years the number of new places which had been created, were ſo conſiderable as to be ſufficient to ſatisfy the moſt rapacious miniſterial dependent. He then proceeded to ſhew that the penſion liſt,

in its preſent application, and amount, was not neceſſary to ſupport the dignity of the crown; and he appealed to gentlemen, who had read the preſent liſt, whether there were many names on that liſt which could contribute to the ſupport of the dignity of the crown. He conſidered that liſt as an hoſpital for incurables; for men who were ſick and weak in principle and ability; adding, that from his obſervation, perſons who were not fit for any ſituation whatſoever in the ſtate, thought themſelves entitled to receive a penſion as a reward for the negative accompliſhment of being qualified to be a burthen to their country; he farther obſerved, that the majority on that liſt appeared to be a deſcription of perſons who were too low to be much reſpected, and yet, perhaps, too high to be abſolutely neglected; they might, with propriety, be ſtiled the lumber of every adminiſtration.

He ſaid that he truſted that no perſon would contend that the preſent penſion liſt was neceſſary to ſupport the dignity of the Houſe; and obſerved, that the moſt reſpectable perſons whoſe names were on that liſt, muſt find it difficult to reſiſt the prejudice which would be excited againſt them in the public mind, when they were obſerved to be in ſuch bad company. That the circumſtance of the names of ſo many members of the Houſe appearing on that liſt, as penſioners during the pleaſure of the miniſter, had ſubjected individuals in the Houſe to ſuſpicions and reports very injurious to their legiſlative character. Amongſt others there was one which had made great impreſſion on the public mind, which, therefore, he ſhould ſtate, and which intimated that it had been a practice of certain members in the Houſe, to whom penſions had lately been granted, to carry them inſtantly to market, and expoſe them to ſale; that from this circumſtance the people had been induced to conſider modern penſions to members of parliament, as in effect a preſent from the miniſter to the member of a ſpecific ſum, for his parliamentary ſervices. The characters of men inveſted with ſuch

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an important truſt as that of legiſlators, ought not only to be chaſte but unſuſpected. He obſerved that neither the members nor the Houſe could poſſeſs that degree of reſpect and confidence neceſſary to ſupport their authority, if every man in this city was empowered to ſay that he had ſeen the price of a certain member's parliamentary ſervices, or the equivalent, hawking about the Exchange, like a ſheet of lottery tickets, and offered for ſale to every broker, money-ſcrivener or uſurer. That it had been even reported that a clauſe was inſerted in ſome of the aſſignments of penſions, by which the member covenanted, that in caſe he ſhould be deprived of his penſion, in conſequence of any difference in opinion, on political ſubjects, between him and the miniſter, that part of the purchaſe money was to be refunded, which gave occaſion to a money-broker in this city to aſſert lately, that he had the conſcience of a certain member of the Houſe of Commons in his pocket.

He ſaid he hoped that after this ſtatement no perſon would contend that the penſion liſt, in its preſent application and amount, could contribute either to ſupport the dignity of the crown, (unleſs he proved that the dignity of the crown was to derive ſupport from the diſgrace of parliament) nor to the ſupport of the dignity of the Houſe, (unleſs he proved that the ſupport of the dignity of that Houſe was to originate in the degradation and contempt of its members.)

He obſerved that part of his bill involved the queſtion of conſtitution, and diſabled perſons who had penſions during pleaſure or for a number of years, from ſitting in the Houſe of Commons. He ſtated that it had appeared by the liſt that many members of the Houſe had penſions during pleaſure; and contended that they were dependent on the will of the miniſter. To thoſe who argued that a penſioner during pleaſure was not dependent, I would anſwer that human nature ſpoke againſt them; that as long as the hopes of reward, or the

the fears of a diminution of income, had any influence on the minds of men, a penſioner during pleaſure muſt be dependent; for the truth of this poſition he appealed to the feelings of every man who had the pride of ſtation to maintain, or the wants of a family to ſatisfy. He ſaid that he was warranted by the language of the different Engliſh acts of parliament, excluding ſuch penſioners from the Houſe of Commons, to affirm, which he ſhould without heſitation, that a member of that Houſe, who had a penſion during pleaſure, was not an independent man. He did not wiſh to injure the feelings of any man; the gentlemen who were ſo circumſtanced ought not to impute blame to him, but they ſhould lament that they were deſtined to live under a free conſtitution, the principles and policy of which were ſo repugnant to their practice. He ſaid that the only anſwer he ſhould make to thoſe who ſtill contended that a grant of a penſion to a member of that Houſe during pleaſure was not inconſiſtent with the principles of the conſtitution, was, that reaſon ſpoke againſt them; as nothing could be ſo abſurd as to ſuppoſe, that the conſtitution inveſted the Houſe of Commons with a power of controul over the crown, and at the ſame time inveſted the crown with a prerogative of granting penſions to members of that Houſe during the pleaſure of the crown, which, by making the members dependent on the crown, rendered that controul uſeleſs.

He then adverted to the third part of his bill, which diſabled any perſon from being elected or ſitting in the Houſe, who held any office or place of profit created after the firſt of January 1787. He ſaid, if gentlemen would examine the liſt of places created within theſe laſt twenty years, they would find that moſt, if not all, thoſe places exceeding three hundred pounds yearly, had been created to accommodate and gratify members of that Houſe, which made the meaſure indiſpenſably neceſſary; and he obſerved, that the beſt remedy for the abuſe was to prevent the temptation to commit it.

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He then reminded the Houſe, that Engliſh precedent had been reſorted to by adminiſtration, to juſtify the introduction of a riot-act; when they recollected the circumſtance attending the riot-act in England, they would not reject the whole of his bill, unleſs they wiſhed to convince every man in the country, that they were determined to adopt only the penal laws of the Engliſh code; thoſe which tended to puniſh the ſubject, but not thoſe framed to advance or ſecure his liberty. The circumſtance to which he alluded was, that in the ſame ſeſſion in which Geo. I. gave the aſſent to the riot-act, he alſo aſſented to an act to ſecure the independence and honour of the Commons, by depriving any penſioner, for a number of years, from ſitting in that Houſe; thus while the crown received in one hand from the parliament an encreaſe of its power, it gave to that parliament with the other an additional ſecurity againſt the abuſe of that encreaſed power; from this circumſtance, he ſaid, a political maxim was to be deduced, which had not entered into the contemplation of the preſent miniſters; that in order to attach the people of any country to its government, the legiſlature ſhould bind them to the ſtate by benefits, and never hope to make men good citizens by proſcription. That part of his bill was a tranſcript of that act of George I. to which he had alluded.

Upon dividing the houſe, there appeared for reading the bill on the 1ſt of Auguſt,—Ayes 129,—Noes 65.

On the 12th of April, Mr. Secretary Orde again proceeded to take into conſideration the ſtate of education in this country, which he deſcribed as in ſo deplorable a ſituation, at leaſt ſo far as reſpects the lower claſſes of the community, that it might be truly ſaid of them, "for lack of learning the land periſheth."

To a want of education, and conſequently a want of that moral and religious ſenſe of duty to the legiſlature and obedience to the laws, which is the great bond of ſociety, he imputed all the violent and atrocious acts which had too often

diſgraced

diſgraced this nation. Men of ſtrong ſenſibility and ingenious but ardent minds, under the guidance of education may be led to undertakings the moſt honourable to themſelves and moſt beneficial to their country; but if repreſſed by ignorance or miſled by error, they either become torpid and uſeleſs to their country, or that vigour of mind which nature beſtowed as a bleſſing to ſociety turns to a curſe; and the legiſlature which has firſt neglected to train its youth to virtue and religion is never after able to prevent the perpetration of crimes even by the moſt ſanguinary laws. The neceſſity therefore of educating youth with a juſt reverence for religion and the laws, he preſſed upon the committee in the ſtrongeſt manner, and put to the feelings of country gentlemen the advantages and ſatisfaction they muſt receive from training the riſing generation to virtue. He made ſome compariſons between men even in the loweſt ranks of ſociety in other countries, to whoſe education the ſtate paid ſome attention, and the unfortunate neglected peaſantry of Ireland, who though bleſſed with minds as vigorous, and forms as true as any people on earth; and though inhabitants of a country poſſeſſing the advantages of a free conſtitution, and the benefits of an extended commerce, yet ſeem to be conſidered by the legiſlature as of no manner of weight in the political ſcale.

Let it not be imagined, ſaid he, that as a ſtranger affecting faſtidious compariſons from my recollection of ſuperior habits, better order, and more decent ſubmiſſion to the laws in another land of equal liberty with this, I am diſpoſed to indulge the pitiful preſumption of abaſing the people among whom I now reſide, and as one of whoſe repreſentatives I account it an honour that I am placed here among you. No motives of ſuch illiberal tendency gave birth to thoſe reflections, which in the character of their repreſentatives, and ſtill more in that of one put in authority under their governor, I venture to offer upon the lamentable condition of the Iriſh peaſantry. I conceive very different ideas of their intrinſic

trinſic value, and am grieved at the long indifference about it; I am grieved that they have been ſuffered to remain as a rich metal in the mine, which no faſhioning hand of an artiſt has hitherto attempted to poliſh into beauty, and upon which no ſtamp of inſtruction has been ſet to give it an acknowſedged worth and currency. Nor let it be apprehended that a meaſure ſuch as this has been formed in the deſign, or is calculated to have the effect of depreſſing the ſpirit or ſubduing the fortitude of a people, whoſe manners it would urbaniſe, and whoſe temper it would regulate. No, it would infuſe divinity into their ſpirit, and make their cottage the preſerver of general tranquility. Learning never yet made man degenerate into ſervility, or enfeebled the vigour of his mind, while it ſoftened the feelings of his heart.

" Doctrina ſed vim promovet inſitam,
" Rectique cultus pectora roborant;
" Utcunque defecere mores,
" Dedecorant bene nata culpæ."

All ranks, all deſcriptions of ſociety, are amended and ennobled by the leſſons of virtue; and where morals are defective, the taint of vice corrupts and defiles the patrician ſtill more than the peaſant. Where has been the nation, to which learning has contributed no advantage? What people has not been rendered more formidable by knowledge as auxiliary to their bravery? Has public liberty been injured by underſtanding its true meaning? Has freedom loſt its exertion, becauſe ſociety has learned to comprehend and obey the laws? The braveſt people, whoſe hiſtory we can trace, and who attained the higheſt rank among the nations, mixed with an undaunted courage the love and the cultivation of letters. Even Sparta, which claimed all her ſons as ſoldiers, made their education in their learning as well as their diſcipline in arms the public care. No individual parent could idly deprive his children of that inſtruction, which tended to exalt them as men, and improve them as citizens. The community

community could not afford the ignorance of any of their members, and they aſſerted their rights in that reſpect as ſuperior to thoſe of parental authority. The children were accounted the offspring of the public, and the nurture of their minds was ſecured by a public proviſion.

The beſt ſupport of courage, Humanity, was by ſuch means allowed to maintain her juſt influence over the actions of man, inſtances of which in days of old as well as of modern date, have reflected not more honour than benefit on mankind. The ſtern and rough form of war has been ſoftened into ſmiles; the ſtrides of deſolation and ruin have been arreſted "in the very imminent deadly breach."

But however little value ſeems at the preſent day to be ſet upon the youth of your peaſantry, the wiſdom and humanity of our anceſtors held them in much higher eſtimation; they knew that with theſe rough materials, great part of the fabric of the nation was to be compoſed, and therefore they endeavoured to form them in the firſt ſtage with ſome degree of attention; accordingly they inſtituted ſchools of various kinds, in doing which they could have had no motives but the pure love of their country, and the honeſt ambition of being remembered as the benefactors of mankind; they might indulge a virtuous hope that

——— "their bones
"When they had run their courſe, and ſlept in bleſſings,
"Should have a tomb of orphan's tears wept on them."

But alas! Their memory has not been thus revered. The voice of infant gratitude has rarely been inſtructed to ſound the name of its benefactors. Inſtruction has not often met the eye or reached the ear of the parentleſs, or of thoſe who had none to teach them. The altars of inſtruction have been robbed of their incenſe, too frequently diſſipated or conſumed by the choſen miniſters, who have ſcarcely deigned to chaunt

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a ſcanty requiem, or have made a farce of the ſervice, which it was enjoined them to perform over the aſhes, and in honour of their patrons. We have only now to hope that the child may not yet be unborn, who ſhall firſt have its lips inſpired with the leſſons of charity, and whoſe mind ſhall be taught, although ſtill too late, to reſtore the genuine tribute of glory to the author of their inſtruction. It would be a kind of ſacrilege to ſuffer theſe rites to be longer neglected; and in vindicating from abuſe the proviſion which was made for them, you will draw upon yourſelves a ſhare in the bleſſings of an infant generation, who will venerate you as the common founders of their relief and improvement. And you will hereafter experience a ſtill higher reward in the conſequent increaſe of proſperity to your country.

Mr. Orde then proceeded to ſtate the modes of ſupport for the various degrees, claſſes or diviſions of this ſyſtem, beginning firſt with the children of the loweſt orders of the people. By the act of 28th Hen. VIII. the miniſter of each pariſh is obliged to teach every child that preſents himſelf for inſtruction in the Engliſh language; the Engliſh language at the time of enacting the law was as little known to the peaſantry of Ireland, as the language of Athens or Rome, and therefore teaching children to read was not a very trivial duty. Yet though every pariſh miniſter is bound by oath to comply with this act, the only thing done towards carrying it into effect is, a commutation of 40s. per annum paid by the miniſter in each pariſh. This ſum therefore, he propoſed to take as the loweſt rate of contribution from all livings not exceeding 150l. per annum; from thence to 200l. per annum the contribution ſhould be three pounds, and ſixpence in the pound after two hundred pounds. The ſame rate of contribution he propoſed for the proprietors of rectorial and impropriate tithes, and whatever might be afterwards deficient towards the full ſupport of the pariſh ſchool, he propoſed

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to raiſe by aſſeſſment, not on the pariſh at large, but at the diſcretion of a veſtry, on the more opulent proprietors of the lands in the pariſh.

The ſecond diviſion of this ſyſtem, which was to conſiſt of four great ſchools, one in each province, ſimilar to the Blue Coat Hoſpital in Dublin, or Chriſt's Hoſpital in London, he propoſed to ſupport by a gradual change of the application of the funds now given to Charter Schools. With the new ſchools he intended to unite Eraſmus Smith's charity; and as from theſe ſeminaries the mariner, the merchant, the tradeſman, the manufacturer, the artificer, the farmer, the accountant, the mathematician; in a word, the moſt uſeful members of ſociety might hereafter ſpring, he propoſed to pay a very great degree of attention to them, and that navigation, mercantile knowledge, modern languages, mathematics, geometry, agriculture, and drawing, ſhould be there taught; and he mentioned that this being a part of his plan, which was ready for almoſt inſtant adoption, the buildings at New Geneva, which are already property, might be made ſubſervient to it.

I will here, ſaid he, take a ſhort review of the propoſed eſtabliſhment, and of its ſeveral diviſions, with ſome general calculation of the probable expence, and of the funds at preſent exiſting, which may be applied to this purpoſe, and of thoſe which muſt be ſupplied by parliamentary aid or other ways and means.

I have mentioned one principal or reſident guardian of this ſociety, one head-maſter alſo.—The number of under maſters and aſſiſtants muſt depend upon the diviſions of ſcholars and the number of children which it may be propoſed to educate in them. I conceive that the whole eſtabliſhment may conſiſt of eight or nine hundred boys, divided into two parts; the former of which might be about three hundred and twenty.

I take that number upon the idea of arranging them into eight wards, for their lodging, of forty each. For theſe there may be allotted ſeven ſchools, which I apprehend, will be a ſufficient number to give ample opportunity for inſtruction in the ſeveral branches of learning and ſcience, which I would arrange in this manner:

1ſt. Reading and Grammar, ſeveral diviſions.
2d. Writing and Accounts, do. do.
3d. Mathematics and Navigation, with apparatus, &c. &c. and ſpace for experiment.
4th. Huſbandry and Agriculture, with do.
5th. Mechanics, Geometry, and Manufacture, with do.
6th. Drawing, &c. &c.
7th. Foreign Languages and Geography.

There muſt of courſe be ſeven maſters for theſe, and ſome of them will require aſſiſtants, eſpecially the reading and grammar ſchools, and that for writing and accounts. The ſecond diviſion will conſiſt of either four hundred and eighty, or five hundred and eighty, according to what may be determined of the groſs number. I ſhould imagine that for theſe four ſchools might be ſufficient; a reading and a writing-ſchool, each of them conſiſting of ſeveral diviſions, and two working ſchools for their inſtruction in different kinds of handicraft or other inferior occupations. There will of courſe be four maſters wanting for theſe ſchools, and ſeveral aſſiſtants. It is to be remembered that the principal will ſuperintend the management of the whole, and the head-maſter will overlook the department of inſtruction in this diviſion as well as the other.—And I would here repeat another remark in favour of this eſtabliſhment, for the reception of ſuch children as are at preſent diſtributed in the ſeveral charter-ſchools, that it will admit of the means to provide, not indeed a greater number of maſters, inſtructors, &c. &c. but men of much ſuperior qualifications. Another advantage of infinite conſequence

quence will be derived from the great care of ſuperintendence and the regular execution of every duty. The children who ſhall be firſt brought on this eſtabliſhment ſhould be draughted from the ſeveral charter-ſchools, with a regard to their ſuperiority of talents and good behaviour, and by this means indeed an improvement might be formed in ſuch of the charter-ſchools as ſhould remain, if the object of removal of the children from them to this higher ſituation ſhould become a ſpur to emulation and induſtry. The number of charter-ſchools ſhould of courſe be diminiſhed after theſe firſt draughts, and the remaining children be diſtributed among ſuch as ſhould ſtill be kept on foot in ſuch places as might be thought proper and convenient to anſwer the great purpoſes of their inſtitution. Perhaps indeed, it may not, under ſuch a regulation as this, be found inexpedient to preſerve always a certain number of theſe ſmaller ſchools, into which the children might firſt be received previous to their more advantageous removal into the provincial academy.—Perhaps alſo, on this account the number of theſe provincial ſchools would not require to be increaſed beyond two. New Geneva is ſo ſituated on the confines of two provinces, as to anſwer in a great degree for the convenience of both; and another ſituation might be choſen for a ſecond eſtabliſhment with ſimilar reference to the accommodation of the two other provinces. I would here only throw out a ſuggeſtion that poſſibly a third might not improperly be formed, by an enlargement of the preſent Blue-coat Hoſpital in Dublin. It is not however, at all events, my purpoſe to limit the number or extent to which hereafter ſuch uſeful inſtitutions may be carried by the increaſe of means for their endowment and ſupport; but, wiſhing to avoid every thing which may be deemed a mere ſpeculation, I would confine myſelf at preſent to ſchemes of aſſured practicability. I will not pretend to form any exact eſtimate of the expence under diſtinct heads, which muſt probably attend the ſupport of one of theſe

these establishments on the footing already mentioned; but having reflected upon the proper amount of salaries and allowances for masters and other necessary officers, such as stewards, wardrobe-keepers, house-keepers, matrons, cooks, porters, &c. &c. and having considered also a sort of average for the support of the children in diet and cloathing and other necessaries, and having proceeded further to conceive the expediency of a fund for the rewards of children, and for the fees or gratuities to be given with them upon their removal from the academy into different pursuits and occupations, I can hardly make the whole amount fall short of 11,000l. or 12,000l. per annum.

His next object was the diocesan schools. Those he proposed to put on a better footing than at present. The bishops, he was sure, would most liberally contribute towards their improvement. He did not mean to burden them, but poverty was not exactly what they could complain of, and with two-and-twenty diocesan schools he had no doubt of laying a proper foundation for classic learning.

His fourth object was to establish two great academies, immediately preparatory to the university. To support these, and aid the diocesan schools, he proposed to apply part of the revenues of those lands which have been given by benevolent persons, or by the state, for the endowment of schools, which lands, to a very great value, had fallen into private hands that did nothing for them, but which he thought it the duty of parliament to reclaim, and apply consonant to the intention of the donors.

Throughout the whole of the foregoing plan was left a possibility for boys of genius to raise themselves, even from the lowest to the highest rank. Other rewards were to be given in proportion to merit. And to the highest schools, or two great academies, were to be annexed exhibitions, as a further incitement to genius and ability to persevere.

Having

Having gone through the four principal heads concerning ſchools, he next mentioned another Univerſity, which, without the ſmalleſt offence to the preſent moſt excellent inſtitution, he thought might poſſibly be neceſſary. There were, he ſaid, many perſons who do not come to this Univerſity who would go to another, ſuppoſe it inſtituted in the north-weſt part of the kingdom, but who now are obliged to ſeek for education in a ſoil leſs congenial to their nature. By theſe he did not mean ſuch as go to England; that he thought produced a good effect, by increaſing the attachment of the ſubjects of the two countries. He believed there came alſo ſome perſons from England to ſtudy here; but he was certain the number would be greater if there was another Univerſity, not ſituated in Dublin. The object of a ſecond Univerſity might, he thought, be compleated by taking ſeveral of the great endowed ſchools in the north-weſt, and blending them together in a new model. The object, however, was at ſome diſtance; for though it ſhould be now determined on, it would be ſix years before it would be neceſſary to open a new Univerſity conformable to the general plan juſt mentioned.

His next object was to preſerve theſe inſtitutions as pure as poſſible, by appointing intelligent viſitors, perſons eminently diſtinguiſhed for learning and abilities; and his laſt was, to provide an honourable and comfortable retreat for ſuch maſters as ſhould ſpend their earlier days in the public ſervice, by inſtructing the youth of the kingdom conſonant to the preſent plan, and for ſuch other perſons as ſhall exert themſelves in carrying the ſyſtem into effect.

He concluded his ſpeech with the following reſolutions:

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this committee,

That it is expedient to reviſe the act of the twenty-eighth of Henry VIII. ch. 15th, for the eſtabliſhment of pariſh ſchools,

ſchools, and to make proviſions and regulations for aſcertaining a new ſcheme and rate of contribution towards their more effectual ſupport and improvement.

That it is expedient to eſtabliſh, by the aid and authority of parliament, an annual fund, to be applied at the diſcretion of the Lord Lieutenant for the time being, for the purpoſe of gradually building or purchaſing, or otherwiſe providing proper ſchool-houſes, and conveniences annexed thereto, in every pariſh or union within this kingdom, in which they may be requiſite, for the reſidence of a ſchool-maſter, and the free inſtruction of the poor.

That an humble addreſs be preſented to his grace the Lord Lieutenant, requeſting his grace to give directions, that there be laid before this houſe, on the firſt day of the next ſeſſion of parliament, an exact return of the number and preſent ſtate of pariſh ſchools and ſchool-houſes throughout the kingdom; and alſo the particulars of all grants, donations, or other proviſions of any kind, in land or money, for the endowment of the ſaid ſchools, or any of them, or for the uſe of the ſchool-maſters of the ſame, or any of them reſpectively, with the ancient and preſent denomination and value of ſuch lands, and in whoſe occupation, and under what title they were held on the 25th of March, 1787.

That it is proper and expedient to inſtitute and ſupport by degrees, at the public expence, one provincial ſchool or hoſpital, in each province within this kingdom, for the gratuitous maintenance and education of children in the eſtabliſhed religion, and in ſuch branches of learning and ſcience as may tend to qualify them with ſuperior advantage for the future exerciſe of various occupations in huſbandry, manufacture, trade, commerce and fine arts.

That it is proper and expedient to reviſe the act of the twenty-third of George II. ch. the 11th, to provide for the better regulation of charity ſchools, and to take effectual meaſures for improving and enlarging the benefits of the proteſtant charter ſchools, in connection with the inſtitutions aforeſaid.

That an humble addreſs be preſented to his grace the Lord Lieutenant, requeſting his grace to give directions, that an exact return be made to this Houſe, on the firſt day of the next ſeſſion of parliament, of the amount, application and expenditure of the funds of every denomination under the care and management of the Incorporated Society for Proteſtant Charter Schools, and of the Governors of Eraſmus Smith's ſchools, with an account of the different authorities by teſtament, charter, ſtatute, or otherwiſe, under which theſe applications and expenditures have been made, and a copy of the ſettled accounts, properly authenticated, of the incorporations aforeſaid, for three years laſt paſt.

That it is proper and expedient to reviſe the acts of the twelfth Elizabeth, chap. 1ſt, ſeventh William III. chap. 4th, twelfth George I. chap. 9th, twenty-ninth George II. chap. 7th, for the eſtabliſhment and maintenance of dioceſan ſchools and ſchool-houſes, and to take proper meaſures, under authority of parliament, for inſuring the due execution of thoſe acts, according to their true intent and meaning; and alſo to empower the Lord Lieutenant and Council to make new proviſions and regulations for the more effectual ſupport and improvement of the ſame.

That an humble addreſs be preſented to his grace the Lord Lieutenant, requeſting his grace to give directions that there be laid before this Houſe, on the firſt day of the next ſeſſion of parliament, accounts of the number and preſent ſtate of dioceſan ſchools and ſchool-houſes throughout this kingdom;

dom; and alſo the particulars of all grants, donations, or other proviſions of any kind, in land or money, made in conſequence of the above recited acts, or any of them, or in any otherwiſe whatever, for the endowment of the ſaid dioceſan ſchools, or any of them, or for the uſe of the ſchool-maſters of the ſame, in ſucceſſion reſpectively, or any of them, with the ancient and preſent denomination and value of ſuch lands, and in whoſe occupation, and under what title they were held on the 25th of March, 1787.

That it is proper and expedient, by the aid and authority of parliament, to eſtabliſh one or more great ſchool or ſchools, and to reform thoſe already eſtabliſhed in ſuch caſes as ſhall be found neceſſary, upon ſuch principles, and with ſuch proviſions and regulations, as may tend more effectually to anſwer the end of their foundation in public utility, by improving and facilitating to the youth of this kingdom the means of a perfect education, as well in ſuch ſchool or ſchools, as by eſtabliſhing an annual ſucceſſion of a ſelect number of the moſt meritorious ſcholars, with a ſuitable proviſion, to the Univerſity, for the future purſuit of learned profeſſions, and for the honourable diſcharge of the higheſt duties of the community.

That it is an object of great public concern that exact enquiry ſhould be made, and information obtained, of the number and preſent ſtate of the ſeveral foundations within this kingdom, for the education of youth in claſſical learning, and that the true nature and value of their endowments ſhould be aſcertained, with the original appropriation and preſent diſpoſal of the funds, and how far the ſeveral duties and truſts directed and enjoined have been and are duly performed.

That the foundation and gradual endowment of a ſecond Univerſity within this kingdom, by the aid and authority of parliament, in addition to the preſent excellent eſtabliſhment

of Trinity College in this capital, might conduce to the greater perfection of a general ſyſtem for the improvement of education, and to the wider diffuſion of learning and ſcience throughout the nation.

That it is eſſentially expedient, towards the ſucceſsful promotion of proper meaſures for the general improvement of education within this kingdom, that one or more perſon or perſons, not exceeding four in the whole, eminently qualified by their abilities and experience, ſhould be appointed by the Chief Governor for the time being, to aſſiſt in the preparation of plans and arrangements for the inſtitution and regulation of the ſeveral ſeminaries of claſſical learning propoſed to be eſtabliſhed and reformed.

That this Houſe will at the commencement of the next ſeſſion of parliament, proceed to the immediate conſideration of ſuch further meaſures as may be requiſite for carrying the foregoing reſolutions into full effect.

That an humble addreſs be preſented to his grace the Lord Lieutenant, requeſting that his grace will be pleaſed to give directions for preparing plans of the neceſſary buildings and other arrangements for forming and eſtabliſhing the ſeveral ſpecies of ſchools and ſchool-houſes, and ſuitable conveniencies to be annexed thereto, with eſtimates of the expence thereto, diſtinguiſhed under ſeparate heads, and accompanied with obſervations reſpecting ſituations, and other circumſtances moſt proper for the ſame.

Amongſt the principal bills paſſed this ſeſſion, were the following viz:

A bill for the better execution of the law, and preſervation of the peace within Counties at large.

A bill for the further increaſe and encouragement of ſhipping and navigation.

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A bill for preſenting and avoiding ſecret outlawrys in perſonal actions.

A bill for promoting the improvement of ports and harbours.

A bill for recovery of Tythes.

A bill to prevent tumultuous riſings, aſſemblies, and unlawful oaths.

An act for regulating the baking trade.

An act for eſtabliſhing market juries in cities, &c.

On the 28th of May, 1787, the Lord Lieutenant concluded the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech.

" *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

" In relieving you from further attendance in the preſent ſeſſion of parliament, I have the ſatisfaction of ſignifying to you his Majeſty's entire approbation of the wiſe and vigorous meaſures by which you have diſtinguiſhed your zeal for the preſervation of the public peace, and the tranquillity of the country. My ſtrenuous exertions ſhall not be wanting to carry your ſalutary proviſions into execution, to aſſert the juſt dominion of the laws, and to eſtabliſh the ſecurity of property, as well as perſonal ſafety, to all deſcriptions of his Majeſty's ſubjects in this kingdom.

" The decided tenor of your conduct aſſures me of your continued and cordial aſſiſtance, and that you will with your utmoſt influence impreſs upon the minds of the people a full conviction what dangerous effects to the general welfare, and to the growing proſperity of the nation, ariſe from the prevalence of even partial or temporary diſturbance. Admoniſh them, that the benevolent but watchful ſpirit of the legiſlature, which induces it to encourage induſtry and exertion, will

will at the ſame time be awake to the correction of the exceſſes which are the inſeparable companions of idleneſs and licentious diſorders.

" *Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,*

" I thank you, in the King's name, for the ſupplies which you have ſo chearfully provided for the ſupport of his Majeſty's government. You may depend upon their being faithfully applied to the purpoſes for which they are granted.

" The meaſures you have taken for encreaſing public credit, and diminiſhing the national debt, are conſonant to that wiſdom and affection to your country, which have ever diſtinguiſhed the parliament of Ireland.

" *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

" A new and powerful incitement to the national induſtry has been opened by the treaty of commerce with France, in which the utmoſt attention is manifeſted to the intereſts of Ireland. The claims of this kingdom to an equal participation in treaties between Great Britain and Portugal have been acknowledged by the court of Liſbon. Theſe are decided teſtimonies of his Majeſty's paternal regard, and freſh confirmation of his gracious reſolution to conſider the intereſts of Great Britain and Ireland as inſeparable. A principle which, by uniting the faculties and affections of the empire, gives ſtrength and ſecurity to every part of it: A principle which, with your accuſtomed wiſdom, you have ſtill further corroborated by the late arrangement of your law of navigation.

" The loyalty and attachment of his faithful people of Ireland are highly grateful to the King; and by his Majeſty's expreſs command I am to aſſure you of his moſt gracious and affectionate protection. To fulfil my Sovereign's pleaſure, which

which conſtantly directs me to ſtudy the true happineſs of this kingdom, is the great and ſettled object of my ambition; and upon this baſis I ſhall hope to have eſtabliſhed a permanent claim to your good opinion, and to the confidence and regard of the people of Ireland."

And then the Lord Chancellor declared that it was his Grace the Lord Lieutenant's pleaſure that this parliament be prorogued to Tueſday the 24th day of July next; and the parliament was accordingly prorogued to Tueſday the 24th day of July next.

On the 24th of October following, his Grace the Duke of Rutland, died of a fever; whereupon the Archbiſhop of Armagh, the Lord Chancellor, and the Rt. Hon. the Speaker of the houſe of Commons were appointed Lords-juſtices and continued in the government until the 16 December enſuing, when his excellency George Nugent Grenville Temple Marquis of Buckingham ſucceeded to the Vice-gerency of Ireland.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Seſſion of 1788.—*Mr. Grattan's ſpeech reſpecting tythes.*—*prorogation.*—*ſeſſion* 1789—*his Majeſty's illneſs.*—*proceedings thereon in the Iriſh parliament.*—*addreſs to the Prince of Wales from both houſes.*—*proteſt of the peers.*—*anſwer of the Lord Lieutenant on delivery of the addreſs.*—*proteſts on this occaſion.*—*anſwers returned by the Prince of Wales.*—*addreſs of the commons.*—*proteſt of the lords.*—*Speech of the Lord Lieutenant on his Majeſty's recovery.*—*addreſs to his Majeſty from the Lords.*—*addreſs from the commons.*—*proceedings in Great Britain.*

PARLIAMENT again aſſembled on the 17th of January, 1788, ſeveral bills both œconomical and conſtitutional were introduced, and rejected, altho' public œconomy appeared to have been a favorite ſyſtem with the Vice-roy.—Amongſt the moſt intereſting ſubjects introduced, was that of *Tythes*, which had been ſo long a matter of complaint, and the alledged cauſe of the diſturbances in the ſouthern part of the country.——Mr. Grattan opened the buſineſs with a propoſed enquiry, and in a ſpeech of conſiderable length, ſtated the oppreſſion of the poor, from the mode in which *Tythes* were aſſeſs'd and collected—" It has been ſaid in defence of clerical exactions, that tho' ſometimes *exorbitant*, they have never been *illegal*, but (ſaid he) I will prove that exactions in ſome of the diſturbed parts, have been not only exorbitant, but illegal likewiſe.—I will prove that in many inſtances, Tythe has been demanded, and paid for *Turf*; that men have been *excommunicated* by a moſt illegal ſentence, for refuſing to pay Tythe of Turf.—A right to Tythe of Turf has been uſurped againſt law, and a legiſlative power of commutation

commutation has been exerciſed, I ſuppoſe for familiarity of appellation and facility of collection.—It has been urged, the law would relieve in the caſe of demand for tithe of Turf—but the poverty of the peaſant has been admitted, and the expence of litigation can not be denied—the law has been applied to and has not relieved—the ſpiritual Courts do maintain a right to tithe for Turf, and in ſo doing, they have acted, and do act in groſs violation of law:—I am informed that tithe has been demanded for Furze ſpent on the premiſes; and therefore, in circumſtances not ſubject to Tithe, a demand oppreſſive to the poor and repugnant to the law."

"The exactions of the tithe-proctor are another inſtance of illegality—he gets, he exacts, he extorts from the pariſhioners, in ſome of the diſturbed pariſhes one, frequently two ſhillings in the pound. The clergyman's agent is then paid by the pariſh, and paid extravagantly.

"I excuſe the tithe-proctor; the law is in fault which gives great and ſummary powers to the indefinite claims of the church, and ſuffers both to be veſted in the hands, not only of the parſon, but of a wretch who follows his own nature, when he converts authority into corruption, and law into peculation.

"Under this head the allegation is, that the tithe-proctors in certain pariſhes of the South, do aſk and extort from the poor pariſhioners one or two ſhillings in the pound under the deſcription of proctorage—a fee at once illegal and oppreſſive; and this they are ready to verify at your bar.

"I underſtand that every thing, of any conſequence, which is tithed in any part of Ireland, is tithed in Munſter; that potatoes, which are tithed in no other part of Ireland, are tithed there—and that each article is, in moſt of the diſturbed parts, tithed higher than in any other part of Ireland.

"I under-

"I understand in the course of your inquiry it will appear, that a living has been lately and rapidly raised from 60l. to 500l. by the new incumbent; that a farm from 12l. a year tithe, has been raised to 60l.—that a living in these disturbed parts from 130l. has been in the same manner and expedition raised to 130l.—that another living in these disturbed parts, in the same manner, has been raised from 300l. to 1000l.

"Under the head of excess the following allegation is submitted to your consideration; that in certain parishes of the South the charge for tithes has been unconscionable, and has not observed any equity in favour of the husbandman, the poor, or the manufacturer.

"But the law would relieve; turn to the Ecclesiastical Courts—the judge is a clergyman, or appointed by a clergyman, and of course is a party judge; and though in some cases his personal rectitude may correct his situation, and prevent him from being a partial, yet from the constitution of his court, he is a party judge—The Ecclesiastical Courts in England maintained gravel and stone to be titheable, as some of ours have maintained turf to be titheable. Lord Holt said, they made every thing titheable; but, says he, I do not regard that, the Pope, from whom our clergy derive their claim, though they depart from its alledged application, subjected to tithe the gains of the merchant, and the pay of the army—the canons went farther, and held the tithe of fornication and adultery to be the undoubted property of the church. We are now too enlightened to listen to claims carried to so very great an extent, and Ecclesiastical Courts are less extravagant now; but still, the principle continues, the bias continues—still they are party courts; the evidence, like the judge, is a party—he is worse, he is frequently the servant of the party, and the nature of his evidence is the best calculated to give every latitude to partiality and corruption

tion—he generally views the crop, when the crop is ripe, or when the ground is red; in the firſt caſe he cannot, with any great accuracy, aſcertain the quantum of produce, and in the laſt caſe, he cannot, with any accuracy at all; and yet, without ſurvey, without meaſure, and in ſome caſes, without inſpection of the crop, hear him ſwearing before a party judge, to the quantum of ground and produce.

"Mr. Grattan obſerved, that two material differences exiſted; firſt, that potatoes were tithed no where but in the South; ſecondly, that the other articles of tillage were tithed no where ſo high as in the South; that there were ſome few pariſhes, 'tis true, in the North, and ſome parts of counties that bordered on Munſter, where potatoes were tithed; but that the inſtances were few, and the exception proved the rule.

"The right of ſetting out the tithe has not always proved, in the caſe of the poor, a ſecurity againſt illegal demands, and does not affect to be a ſecurity againſt unconſcionable demands.

"By the law, the tenant muſt give forty-eight hours notice, and bind himſelf to a day, whether fair or foul. In the caſe of potatoes, he muſt, if the parſon does not chooſe to attend, leave the ridge in the field, which may prevent his ſowing winter corn, and be the difference between the profit on wheat and on oats. The tenant cannot dig his potatoes till October, he ſeldom does till November; and he muſt uſe them in Auguſt, becauſe the ſtock of laſt year is exhauſted. Now, the digging a bowl of potatoes is by conſtruction in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, the ſubſtraction, not of the particular tithe, but of the tithes of the year: for ſimplicity of ſuit they conſtrue ſubſtraction of one prœdial tithe to be ſubſtraction of the whole; and for extent of power, that is, for the ſake of bringing the whole under their juriſdiction, they

they conſtrue potatoes to be prœdial tithe. Thus the neceſſity of the year brings the peaſant under the laſh of eccleſiaſtical authority, that great ſcourge of the farmer.

"To theſe evils are we to add another, which is the principal ſource of them all—the uncertainty of tithe—the full tenth ever muſt be oppreſſive.

"A tenth of your land, your labour, and your capital, to thoſe who contribute in no ſhape whatſoever to the produce, muſt be oppreſſion; they only think otherwiſe, who ſuppoſe that every thing is little which is given to the parſon—that no burden can be heavy, if it is the weight of the parſon; that landlords ſhould give up their rent, and tenants the profits of their labour, and all too little; but uncertainty aggravates that oppreſſion, the full tenths ever muſt be uncertain as well as oppreſſive, for it is the fixed proportion of a fluctuating quantity, and unleſs the high prieſt can give law to the winds, and aſcertain the harveſt, the tithe, like that harveſt, muſt be uncertain; but this uncertainty is aggravated by the pernicious motives on which tithe frequently riſes and falls. It frequently riſes on the poor—it falls in compliment to the rich. It proceeds on principles the reverſe of the goſpel; it croaches to the ſtrong, and it encroaches on the feeble; and is guided by the two worſt principles in ſociety, ſervility and avarice united, againſt the cauſe of charity, and under the cloak of religion.

In the courſe of this ſpeech, Mr. Grattan went into many particulars in proof of his aſſertions—the nature, effect, and origin of the tithe inſtitution, the mode of redreſs he thought moſt applicable under exiſting circumſtances, and concluded thus—"Let bigotry and ſchiſm, the zealot's fire, the high prieſt's intolerance, through all their diſcordancy, tremble, while an enlightened Parliament, with arms of general protection, overarches the whole community, and roots

roots the proteſtant aſcendency in the ſovereign mercy of its nature; laws of coercion, perhaps neceſſary, certainly ſevere, you have put forth already, but your great engine of power, you have hitherto kept back; that engine, which the pride of the bigot, nor the ſpite of the zealot, nor the ambition of the high, nor the arſenal of the conqueror, nor the inquiſition with its jaded rack and pale criminal, never thought of: the engine which armed with phyſical and moral bleſſing comes forth, and overlays mankind by ſervices; the engine of redreſs—this is Government, and this the only deſcription of Government worth your ambition. Were I to raiſe you to a great act, I ſhould not recur to the hiſtory of other nations; I would recite your own acts, and ſet you in emulation with yourſelves. Do you remember that night, when you gave your country a Free Trade, and with your hands opened all her harbours.—That night when you gave her a Free Conſtitution, and broke the chains of a century —while England, eclipſed at your glory and your iſland, roſe as it were from its bed, and got nearer to the ſun. In the arts that poliſh life—the inventions that accommodate—the manufactures that adorn it—you will be for many years inferior to ſome other parts of Europe; but, to nurſe a growing people—to mature a ſtruggling, though hardy community, to mould, to multiply, to conſolidate, to inſpire, and to exalt a young nation; be theſe your barbarous accompliſhments?

"I ſpeak this to you, from a long knowledge of your character, and the various reſources of your ſoul; and I conſide my motion to thoſe principles not only of juſtice, but of fire; which I have obſerved to exiſt in your compoſition, and occaſionally to break out in a flame of public zeal, leaving the miniſters of the Crown in eclipſed degradation. It is therefore I have not come to you furniſhed merely with a cold mechanical plan; but have ſubmitted to your conſideration the living grievances—conceiving that any thing in the ſhape

of

of oppreſſion made once apparent—oppreſſion too of a people you have ſet free—the evil will catch thoſe warm ſuſceptible properties which abound in your mind, and qualify you for legiſlation."

On the queſtion whether the houſe ſhould go into the enquiry propoſed by Mr. Grattan, a diviſion took place and the meaſure was rejected by a majority of 72.

What has been thus far ſtated, ſhews the grievances which this Country—particularly amongſt the lower order of the people, muſt have felt with reſpect to the ſubject of tithes—and if the meaſures of redreſs propoſed were not adopted—the diſcuſſion of the queſtion afforded ſufficient ground to check the progreſs of the evil, and prevent the future practice of illegal impoſition.—In this, perhaps it had a ſalutary effect.

On the 18th of April 1788, the parliament was prorogued, and did not meet again until the 5th of February 1799, when the Lord Lieutenant in his ſpeech, acquainted both houſes, with the melancholy account of his Majeſty's indiſpoſition, which render'd him unable to diſcharge the neceſſary duties of government.—And this neceſſarily engaged the public attention—and parliamentary enquiry.

On this event, the proceedings in this country and Great Britain, happen'd to take different directions: we ſhall ſtate what was hereupon done by the Iriſh parliament—and then make a few obſervations on the tranſactions in England.

As ſoon as the uſual addreſs was voted in the Iriſh parliament, Mr. Fitzherbert, the ſecretary to the Lord Lieutenant, moved the houſe of commons, "that the houſe ſhould reſolve itſelf into a committee on the Monday ſe'nnight, to take into conſideration the ſtate of his majeſty's health." As the evident deſign of this delay was to prevent the Iriſh parliament

ment from coming to any reſolutions relative to a regency, before the determinations of the Britiſh parliament could be propoſed to them for their concurrence, it was ſtrongly oppoſed, as derogatory to the independance of that kingdom, and to the dignity and credit of its parliament. Mr. Grattan, therefore, propoſed that the houſe ſhould meet on the next Wedneſday; and his amendment, after a long and warm debate, in which the adminiſtration of the Lord Lieutenant was animadverted on with the greateſt ſeverity, was carried by a majority of 128 to 74.

At the ſame time, a motion made by the chancellor of the exchequer, for proceeding immediately upon the buſineſs of ſupply. preparatory to the paſſing of the money bills, was negatived; and the conſideration of ſupply put off to the 12th of February.

On Wedneſday the 11th, Mr. Conolly moved, that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to the prince of Wales, requeſting him to take on himſelf the government of that kingdom as regent, during his majeſty's incapacity. This motion gave riſe to a long and violent debate, in which the attorney general, Mr. Fitzgibbon, late chancellor of Ireland, eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf in oppoſition to the motion. It was ſupported by Mr. Grattan, Mr. Ponſonby, Mr. Curran, and other eminent ſpeakers; and was ultimately carried without a diviſion.

On Monday the 16th, the houſe of Lords being met purſuant to their laſt adjournment, a motion for a further adjournment was made, and rejected. The earl of Charlemont then moved for an addreſs to the prince of Wales, ſimilar to that voted by the commons; which, after ſome debate, was carried by a majority of nineteen. A proteſt was entered, ſigned by ſeventeen lords.

On

On Tuesday the 19th, both houses waited upon the lord lieutenant with their address, and requested him to transmit the same. With this request his excellency refused to comply; returning for answer,—"that under the impressions he felt of his official duty, and of the oath he had taken, he did not consider himself warranted to lay before the Prince an address, purporting to invest his royal highness with powers to take upon him the government of that realm, before he should be enabled by law so to do; and therefore was obliged to decline transmitting their address to Great Britain."

Upon the return of the commons to their own house, and the answer of the lord being reported to them, Mr. Grattan observed, that in a case so extremely new, it would be highly improper to proceed with hurry or precipitation; the house was called upon to act with dignity, firmness and decision; and therefore, that due time might be had for deliberation, he would move the question of adjournment; the question was put and carried without opposition.

On the day following Mr. Fitzherbert moved, that the lord lieutenant's answer be entered on the journals.

Mr. Grattan said, he was satisfied to let the answer be entered on the journals, in order to make way for some resolutions which he intended to propose, as necessary to carry the intention of the two houses into effect, and as a vindication of their honour and constitutional conduct.

The answer being entered on the journals, Mr. Grattan moved, "That his excellency the lord lieutenant having thought proper to decline to transmit to his royal highness George prince of Wales, the address of both houses of parliament, a competent number of members be appointed by this house to present the said address to his royal highness."

The

The queſtion on Mr. Grattan's motion was then put, and paſſed without any diviſion; whereupon he moved, "That Mr. Connolly do attend the lords with the ſaid reſolution, and acquaint them, that this houſe requeſt them to appoint members of their own body to join with the members of the commons in preſenting the ſaid addreſs."

This alſo paſſed witout any deviſion; and Mr. Connolly went up to the Lords accordingly.

The meſſage received in reply was, "that the lords had "concurred in the reſolution of the commons, and had ap- "pointed his grace the duke of Leinſter and the earl of Char- "lemont to join with ſuch members as the commons ſhould "appoint to preſent the addreſs of both houſes to his royal "highneſs the prince of Wales."

Mr. Grattan then moved, "that the right honourable "Thomas Connolly, right honourable J. O'Neil, right ho- "nourable W. B. Ponſonby, and J. Stewart, Eſq; ſhould "be appointed commiſſioners on the part of the commons, "for the purpoſe of preſenting the addreſs to his royal high- "neſs the prince of Wales." and they were appointed ac- cordingly.

Theſe motions having paſſed, Mr. Grattan them moved, "that the two houſes of parliament had diſcharged an in- "diſpenſable duty, in providing for the third eſtate of the "Iriſh conſtitution (rendered incomplete through the king's "incapacity) by appointing the prince of Wales regent of "Ireland."

The motion was oppoſed principally on the ground of its being conſidered as the foundation of a vote of cenſure on the lord lieutenant; and after a long debate, the houſe divided; for the queſtion 130. againſt it 71.

Mr. Grattan, after ſome comments on the preceding debate, and the deciſion of the houſe, made another motion, in purport, "That it is the opinion of this houſe, that the "anſwer of his excellency the lord lieutenant to both houſes, "in refuſing to tranſmit the ſaid addreſs, is ill-adviſed, and "tends to convey an unwarrantable and unconſtitutional "cenſure on the conduct of both houſes."

The attorney general moved, as an amendment, to preface this reſolution with the following words, "that this houſe, "uninformed of the motion that impreſſed his excellency's "mind, and unacquainted with his private inſtructions, or "the tenor of his oath," &c.

The houſe being divided on this amendment, there appeared for it 78, againſt it 119.

Capt. Burgh then propoſed an amendment, to add the following words to the original reſolution,—"Inaſmuch as "the ſaid lords have proceeded to appoint his royal highneſs, "&c. illegally and unconſtitutionally." This amendment was negatived without a diviſion.

Mr. Grattan's original motion of cenſure was then put; on which the houſe divided; and there appeared for the motion 115, againſt it 83.

On the 25th the report of the ſeveral reſolutions of the committee of ſupply being brought up, and that which provides for the payment of the intereſt of the national debt, the annuities, and eſtabliſhments, being read, Mr. Grattan propoſed, that the words "for two months, ending the 26th "of May 1789," he added.

Upon this occaſion, Mr. Brownlow obſerved, that though no party man, he thought is neceſſary to proceed with caution. Some difference had ariſen between his excellency the governor

governor and the two houſes. He ſhould never forget the affair of lord Townſhend, who prorogued the parliament, and proteſted againſt their proceedings, for the commons exerciſing a right of originating bills of ſupply; a right in which lay the eſſence of all their privileges. What lord Townſhend did, Lord Buckingham might do, if they paſſed the ſupply for a year; nay, he might and perhaps would diſſolve them, and then how could they look at their conſtituents; who would ſay, "You have deſerved all this; for "when we put our purſe in your hands, you fooliſhly let go "the ſtrings?"

The attorney general ſaid, that he recollected the event referred to by the honourable gentleman; and remembered too, that the houſe voted an addreſs of thanks when they next met, which addreſs coſt the nation half a million of money.

On the queſtion being put, there appeared for the amendment, Ayes 104, Noes 85.

Mr. Grattan then moved, that the army be provided for but to the 25th of May; which was likewiſe carried, Ayes 102, Noes 77.

The committee of the two houſes arrived in London on the 25th, and the day following preſented their addreſs to the prince of Wales at Carlton Houſe. As the convaleſcent ſtate of his majeſty's health was at this time apparent, his royal highneſs, after returning his warmeſt thanks, for the addreſs, and expreſſing the ſatisfaction he received from the proof it afforded of their loyal and affectionate attachment to the perſon and government of the king, acquainted them with the fortunate change that had taken place. Within a few days, he hoped, that the joyful event of his majeſty's reſuming his government would enable him to give them a final anſwer, and make it only neceſſary for him to repeat

thoſe ſentiments of gratitude and affection to the loyal and generous people of Ireland, which he felt indelibly imprinted on his heart.

On the 14th of March the lord lieutenant went in ſtate to the houſe of peers; and having acquainted the two houſes with the king's recovery, addreſſes of congratulation were immediately voted to his majeſty.

On the 23d, the members of the committee appointed to wait upon the prince of Wales, being returned to Dublin, reported to the two houſes the final anſwer of his royal highneſs [See State Papers,]; which was ordered to be inſerted in their journals, and an addreſs of thanks was voted.

We inſert the following ſtate papers, as further explanatory of the proceedings in this kingdom, on the buſineſs before mentioned.

Addreſs preſented to the Prince of Wales, Feb. 27, *by the Delegates from both Houſes of Parliament in Ireland.*

To his Royal Highneſs George *Prince of* Wales.

THE humble addreſs of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and knights, citizens, and burgeſſes, in parliament aſſembled.

May it pleaſe your Royal Highneſs,

We, his Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and the commons of Ireland in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to approach your royal highneſs, with hearts full of the moſt loyal and affectionate attachment to the perſon and government of your royal father, to expreſs the deepeſt and moſt grateful ſenſe of the numerous bleſſings which we have enjoyed under that illuſtrious houſe,

houſe, whoſe acceſſion to the throne of theſe realms has eſtabliſhed civil and conſtitutional liberties upon a baſis which, we truſt, will never be ſhaken; and at the ſame time to condole with your royal highneſs upon the grievous malady with which it has pleaſed Heaven to afflict the beſt of ſovereigns.

We have, however, the conſolation of reflecting, that this ſevere calamity hath not been viſited upon us, until the virtues of your royal highneſs have been ſo matured as to enable your royal highneſs to diſcharge the duties of an important truſt, for the performance whereof, the eyes of all his majeſty's ſubjects of both kingdoms are directed to your royal highneſs.

We therefore beg leave humbly to requeſt, that your royal highneſs will be pleaſed to take upon you the government of this realm, during the continuance of his majeſty's preſent indiſpoſition, and no longer; and under the ſtyle and title of prince regent of Ireland, in the name and on the behalf of his majeſty, to exerciſe and adminiſter, according to the laws and conſtitution of this kingdom, all regal powers, juriſdictions, and prerogatives, to the crown and government thereof belonging.

Proteſt of the Peers of Ireland, *who voted, on* Monday, Feb. 16, *againſt the Addreſs to the* Prince of Wales, *requeſting his Royal Highneſs to take upon him the Office of Prince Regent.*

Diſſentient,

1ſt. BECAUSE the addreſs in queſtion to his royal highneſs the prince of Wales, is an addreſs, requeſting that he will be pleaſed to take upon him the government of this realm in ſuch manner as is therein mentioned, and to exerciſe and adminiſter, according to the laws and conſtitution of this kingdom, all royal powers, juriſdiction, and prerogatives

gatives to the crown and government thereof belonging, without any law or authority whatſoever, that we know of, authorizing him ſo to do.

2dly, Becauſe we are apprehenſive that the ſaid addreſs may be conſtrued to be a meaſure tending to diſturb and weaken that great conſtitutional union, whereby, as fully declared, enacted, and ſpecified in ſundry acts of parliament in this kingdom, this realm of Ireland is for ever united and knit to the imperial crown of England, and as a member, appending and rightfully belonging thereto.

3dly. Becauſe, although in every ſentiment of duty, affection, and reſpect, towards his royal highneſs, we hold ourſelves, equal to, and will not be exceeded by, any of thoſe who join in the ſaid addreſs, or by any other perſon whatſoever; and are, and ever ſhall be, ready to lay down our lives and fortunes in the ſupport and maintenance of the juſt rights of our moſt gracious ſovereign, and of every branch of his royal and auguſt family; we cannot pay any compliment to his royal highneſs, or to any one, at the expence of what we conſider as great conſtitutional principles; and we cannot, (for ſuch are the workings of duty, affection, and reſpect in our breaſts,) join in the ſaid addreſs, which may, as we are apprehenſive, bring difficulty and embarraſſment upon his royal highneſs, already too much oppreſſed by the great calamity which hath befallen our moſt gracious ſovereign, his royal father.

Signed

Lifford, C.	R. Dublin	Harberton
Carysfort	Valentia	Mornington
Longford	Bective	Chetwynd
Hillsborough	Altamont	Carysfort
Courtown	G. L. Kilmore	Ranelagh
Mountmorres		

Diſſentient.

Diſſentient,

For the ſecond reaſon in the foregoing proteſt.

And alſo, becauſe feeling every ſentiment of duty, reſpect, and attachment to his royal highneſs the prince of Wales, and thinking him the only proper perſon to be appointed to this high ſtation, I conſider, that to addreſs his royal highneſs to accept the regency of this kingdom, before we have any authority to know, that he is as yet appointed regent of Great Britain, is inviting him to aſſume a power, which under the actual and exiſting conſtitution of Ireland, he cannot exerciſe, inaſmuch as by ſtatute 10 of Henry VII. no bill can receive the royal aſſent here, that is not certified from Great Britain under the great ſeal of England, and until his royal highneſs ſhall have authority to direct the uſe of that great ſeal, he cannot diſcharge the functions of the regal office for Ireland. It is impoſſible, according to the laws and conſtitution of this kingdom, that any perſon ſhould be regent of Ireland, who is not at the ſame time regent of Great Britain.

GLANDORE.

Diſſentient,

1ſt. Becauſe, with an anxious deſire that the regency of this kingdom, during his majeſty's indiſpoſition, ſhould be conferred on his royal highneſs the prince of Wales in a manner moſt expreſſive of reſpect and affection to his royal highneſs, and convinced that his royal highneſs will think that mode of appointment moſt expreſſive of duty and affection, which is conſtitutional, and muſt conduce to preſerve the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland inſeparable, we conſider an addreſs of the two houſes of parliament, purporting of its own authority, to confer royal power, at a time when they are fully competent to paſs a bill for the purpoſe of effectually providing for the exerciſe of the

ſame,

ſame, to be a moſt dangerous violation of the fundamental principles of the conſtitution.

2dly. Becauſe the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland (on which the ſafety of the conſtitution in church and ſtate depends) is preſerved and maintained by the unity of the executive power alone; and yet the addreſs propoſed by the reſolution now paſſed, is to appoint his royal highneſs regent of Ireland, without our being certain that his royal highneſs is or will be regent of Great Britain, and without making any proviſion, that his royal highneſs ſhall not continue to be regent of Ireland longer than he ſhall be regent of Great Britain: Thus expoſing to chance and accident the preſervation of the only bound of that connexion between the countries, upon which all that is dear to us, depends, and making a precedent that may be of the moſt fatal conſequence to poſterity.

TYRONE. WM. OSSORY. W. LEIGHLIN and FERNS. BELLAMONT.

Diſſentient,

For the firſt reaſon in the proteſt immediately preceding.

And alſo, becauſe we conſider, that if by virtue of this addreſs alone, his royal highneſs the prince of Wales ſhall take upon himſelf the regal powers of this kingdom, his royal highneſs will by ſuch aſſumption be drawn in to decide upon an important conſtitutional queſtion, equally affecting Great Britain and Ireland.

And alſo, becauſe we conſider theſe words in the addreſs, "and no longer," as unneceſſary, and at the ſame time diſreſpectful to the Prince of Wales, tending to convey an idea that this country can confer, or that the Prince might continue to hold over the powers of a regent for a longer time than

the

the continuation of the king's indiſpoſition incapacitated his Majeſty from being reſtored to the full exerciſe of the powers appertaining to the crown of Great Britain and Ireland.

CARHAMPTON CONYNGHAM.

Anſwer of the Lord Lieutenant *to the addreſs of both Houſes, requeſting him to tranſmit their Addreſs to the* Prince of Wales.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

UNDER the impreſſion which I feel of my official duty, and of the oath which I have taken as chief governor of Ireland, I am obliged to decline tranſmitting this addreſs into Great Britain,

For I cannot conſider myſelf warranted to lay before the Prince of Wales an addreſs, purporting to inveſt his royal highneſs with powers to take upon him the government of this realm, before he ſhall be enabled by law ſo to do.

Proteſt of the Minority in the Iriſh *Houſe of Lords, againſt the Reſolutions voted* Feb. 19, *aſſerting the right of both houſes to declare a Prince Regent.*

Diſſentient,

BECAUSE the undoubted right, and the indiſpenſable duty, declared in the ſaid reſolution to have been exerciſed and diſcharged by the lords and commons of Ireland, and to which it is alluded they are alone competent, do not, in any legal or ſound ſenſe, appear to us to have any exiſtence—And becauſe the aſſuming a right in the lords and commons alone, to confer upon his royal highneſs the prince of Wales the government of this kingdom, under the ſtyle and title of prince Regent of Ireland, in the name and on the behalf of his Majeſty, to exerciſe and adminiſter, according to the laws and conſtitution of this kingdom, all regal powers and prerogatives

prerogatives to the crown and government thereof belonging, or the addreſſing his royal highneſs to take upon himſelf ſuch government in manner aforeſaid, before he be enabled by law ſo to do, ſeems to us altogether unwarrantable, and to be highly dangerous in its tendency to diſturb and break the conſtitutional union, whereby this realm of Ireland is for ever knit and united to the imperial crown of England, on which connexion the happineſs of both kingdoms eſſentially depends; and we are the more apprehenſive of danger, leſt the ſo doing ſhould be conſidered as tending to the prejudice, diſturbance, or derogation of the King's majeſty in, of, or of the crown of this realm of Ireland.

Lifford, C.	Hillsborough	Wm. Ossory
Valentia	Courtown	Mornington
Longford	Altamont	G. L. Kilmore
J. Clogher	Ranelagh	W. Leighlin &. Ferns
Bellamont	Powerscourt	Glandore
Mt. Morres	Enniskillen	R. Dublin
Conyngham	Tyrone	Lanesborough
Bective	Chetwynd	Carhampton
Harberton.		

Proteſt of the Lords againſt the Vote of Cenſure on the Lord Lieutenant.

Diſſentient,

BECAUSE, when his excellency the lord lieutenant, his Majeſty's repreſentative here, hath told us, that under the impreſſion of his official duty, and of the oath that he hath taken as chief governor of this kingdom, he is obliged to decline tranſmitting to Great Britain the addreſſes of both houſes of parliament to his royal highneſs the Prince of Wales, it doth not conſiſt with that decorum, with that juſtice, and with that grave proceeding, with which this houſe, the great and derniere court of juſtice, ſhould ever act, to proceed

to proceed to a condemnation and cenſure of his excellency, without being allowed to enquire and look into the conſtitution of his office, or into his oath:—and beſides we cannot conſider it as a want of reſpect to his royal highneſs the Prince of Wales, the not tranſmitting the ſaid addreſs to him, as it would expoſe his royal highneſs to difficulty and embarraſſment, by laying him under the diſagreeable neceſſity of deciding upon great, legal, and conſtitutional principles, in which his royal highneſs's future intereſts, and the rights of that imperial crown which he is born to inherit, may be very deeply concerned:—and, moreover, we conceive this houſe ought ever to be mindful of the ſtation in which the conſtitution hath placed it, and ought to reſiſt every thing which partakes of intemperance and exceſs.

Lifford, C.	*Hillſborough*	*Powerſcourt*
Wm. Oſſory	*Mountmorres*	*Valentia*
Courtown	*Mornington*	*Enniſkillen*
Longford	*Altamont*	*Glandore*
R. Dublin	*Tyrone*	*Carhampton*
Bective	*Laneſborough*	*Harberton*
Conyngham	*Bellamont*	*G. Lewis Kilmore*
J. Clogher	*Ranelagh*	*W. Leighlin and Ferns.*

Anſwer of the Prince of Wales *to the Addreſs preſented by the Delegates of the two houſes of parliament of* Ireland.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE addreſs from the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons of Ireland, which you have preſented to me, demands my warmeſt and earlieſt thanks. If any thing could add to the eſteem and affection I have for the people of Ireland, it would be the loyal and affectionate attachment to the perſon and government of the King, my father, manifeſted in the addreſs of the two houſes.

What

What they have done, and their manner of doing it, is a new proof of their undiminiſhed duty to his Majeſty, of their uniform attachment to the houſe of Brunſwick, and their conſtant attention to maintain inviolate the concord and connexion between the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, ſo indiſpenſably neceſſary to the proſperity, the happineſs, and the liberties of both.

If in conveying my grateful ſentiments on their conduct, in relation to the King, my father, and to the inſeparable intereſt of the two kingdoms, I find it impoſſible to expreſs adequately my feelings on what relates to myſelf, I truſt you will not be the leſs diſpoſed to believe, that I have an underſtanding to comprehend the value of what they have done, a heart that muſt remember, and principles that will not ſuffer me to abuſe their confidence.

But the fortunate change which has taken place in the circumſtance which gave occaſion to the addreſs agreed to by the lords and commons of Ireland, induced me to delay, for a few days, giving a final anſwer, truſting, that the joyful event of his majeſty's reſuming the perſonal exerciſe of his royal authority, may then render it only neceſſary for me to repeat thoſe ſentiments of gratitude and affection to the loyal and generous people of Ireland, which I feel indelibly imprinted on my heart.

Second anſwer of the Prince of Wales *to the Deputation from both houſes of the parliament of* Ireland. March 12.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE happy event of the King's recovery, and the conſequent re-aſſumption of the exerciſe of his auſpicious government, announced by his royal commiſſion for declaring the further cauſes of holding the parliament of Great Britain, has

has done away the melancholy neceſſity which gave riſe to the arrangement propoſed by the parliament of Ireland; but nothing can obliterate from my memory and my gratitude, the principles upon which that arrangement was made, and the circumſtances by which it was attended.

I conſider your generous kindneſs to his Majeſty's royal family, and the proviſion you made for preſerving the authority of the crown in its conſtitutional energy, as the moſt unequivocal proof which could be given of your affectionate loyalty to the King, at the time when, by an afflicting diſpenſation of Providence, his government had ſuffered an intermiſſion, and his houſe was deprived of its natural protector.

I ſhall not pay ſo ill a compliment to the lords and commons of Ireland, as to ſuppoſe that they were miſtaken in their reliance on their moderation of my views and the purity of my intentions: A manly confidence, directing the manner of proceeding toward thoſe who entertain ſentiments becoming the high ſituation to which they are born, furniſhes the moſt powerful motives to the performance of their duty; at the ſame time that the liberality of ſentiment which, in conveying a truſt confers an honour, can have no tendency to relax that provident vigilance and that public jealouſy which ought to watch over the exerciſe of power.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Though full of joy for the event which enables me to take leave of you in this manner, perſonally, I cannot but regret your departure:—I have had the opportunity of acquiring a knowledge of your private characters, and it has added to the high eſteem which I had before entertained for you on account of your public merits; both have made you the worthy repreſentatives of the great bodies to which you belong.

I am

I am confident that I need not add my earneſt recommendation to the parliament and people of Ireland to continue to cultivate the harmony of the two kingdoms, which in their mutual perfect freedom will find the cloſeſt as well as happieſt bond of their connection.

Addreſs of the houſe of Commons of Ireland *to the* Prince of Wales, *voted* March 20, *on occaſion of the final anſwer of his Royal Highneſs.*

May it pleaſe your Royal Highneſs.

WE, his Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the commons of Ireland in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to offer to your royal highneſs our warmeſt thanks for your anſwer to our addreſs.

With hearts overflowing with the livelieſt joy, we congratulate your royal highneſs upon the happy event of the King's recovery, and the conſequent re-aſſumption of the exerciſe of his auſpicious government; an event highly pleaſing to the ſubjects of the whole empire, but peculiarly grateful to a nation ſo highly indebted to their moſt excellent ſovereign during the whole courſe of his reign; and we rejoice in the reflection that the father of his people is bleſſed with a ſon, who is likely, in the fullneſs of time, to continue to his Majeſty's loyal and affectionate ſubjects of Ireland the bleſſing of his government.

Thoroughly conſcious that nothing can add more to that eſteem which your royal highneſs has been pleaſed to expreſs for the two houſes of parliament, than their loyal and affectionate attachment to the perſon and government of the King, we will ſteadily perſevere in thoſe principles of duty, loyalty, and affection, which have ſo happily recommended them to the favourable opinion of your royal highneſs.

We

We feel the higheſt ſatisfaction in finding that what we have done, and our manner of doing it, have received your approbation, and that your royal highneſs is pleaſed to conſider our conduct as a proof of our undiminiſhed duty to his Majeſty, our uniform attachment to the houſe of Brunſwick, and our conſtant care and attention to maintain inviolate the concord and connection between the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, which we conſider as indiſpenſably neceſſary to the proſperity, happineſs, and liberties of both; and we beg leave to aſſure your royal highneſs, that from thoſe principles we ſhall never depart.

We are happy to find that your royal highneſs conſiders our juſt attention to his Majeſty's royal family, and the proviſion made by us for preſerving the authority of the crown in its conſtitutional energy, as the moſt unequivocal proofs which could be given of our affectionate loyalty to the beſt of ſovereigns, at the melancholy period when, by an afflicting diſpenſation of Providence, his government had ſuffered an intermiſſion, and his illuſtrious houſe was deprived of its great and natural protector.

We have the juſteſt reliance on the moderation of the views and putity of the intentions of your royal highneſs, and we have the fulleſt conviction in our minds, that any truſt which could have the moſt diſtant tendency to relax that provident vigilance and public jealouſy which ought to watch over the exerciſe of power, would not have been acceptable to the exalted ſentiments of your royal highneſs, whoſe underſtanding and principles are rendered more valuable by the generous and affectionate heart which animates their dictates.

We can with the greateſt truth moſt ſolemnly aſſure your royal highneſs, that it is the ardent wiſh of the parliament and people of Ireland to continue to cultivate the harmony and

and inſeparable intereſt of the two kingdoms; firmly convinced that in their mutual perfect freedom they will find the cloſeſt as well as the happieſt bond of their connection; and we offer our warmeſt acknowledgments to your royal highneſs for your recommendation to us to perſevere in ſuch a conduct, and conſider your royal highneſs's recommendation, ſo worthy the high ſtation in which you are placed, as an additional proof of your attention to the welfare of both countries.

We aſſure your royal highneſs, that if any thing could add to the exultation of our minds at the happy event of the recovery of our moſt beloved ſovereign, it would be the pleaſure which we feel in reflecting, that the heir to his Majeſty's crowns inherits the virtues of his royal father—virtues which every part of your royal highneſs's conduct, during the late melancholy and trying occaſion, has placed in the moſt illuſtrious point of view; and the repeated marks of graciouſneſs and condeſcenſion, with which your royal highneſs has been pleaſed to honour the two houſes of parliament, muſt ever remain impreſſed in the moſt indelible characters of affection and gratitude on the hearts of the people of Ireland.

[An addreſs to the ſame effect was voted by the lords.]

Proteſt againſt the addreſs of Thanks to the Prince of Wales, *voted in the* Iriſh *Houſe of Lords*, March 23.

Diſſentient,

BECAUSE, although deſirous to expreſs our humble thanks to his royal highneſs the Prince of Wales, for his gracious anſwer to the addreſs of both houſes of parliament, and that to a degree which might induce us to paſs over the departure which there ſeems to be in the mode and form of this addreſs from the uſual courſe and proceeding of parliament,

ment, yet we cannot agree to this addreſs, which doth not conſiſt, as we conceive, with thoſe conſtitutional principles which are maintained in our proteſts of February laſt, and to which we adhere.

Lifford, C.	R. Dublin.	Ranelagh
Chetwynd	Longford	Altamont
Harberton	Tyrone	Laneſborough
Wm. Oſſory	Glandore	Mountmorres.

Diſſentient,

1ſt, Becauſe the uniform and regular practice in this houſe has been as appears from its earlieſt records, to paſs a ſhort vote of thanks for anſwers from the King to addreſſes of this houſe, to be laid before his Majeſty by the lord lieutenant.

2dly, Becauſe that, on the 12th of December 1715, a committee, which had been appointed to draw up an addreſs of thanks to his Majeſty King George the Firſt, for his gracious anſwer to a congratulatory addreſs upon his acceſſion, were diſcharged from that duty, and a ſhort vote of thanks for his Majeſty's gracious anſwer was paſſed, to be tranſmitted by the lord lieutenant; ſince which time this method of proceeding has uniformly prevailed, except in the inſtances of anſwers which complied with requeſts from this houſe, or where royal aſſurance had been given of ſome great national benefits beſtowed, or intended to be conferred, upon this country; in which caſes, addreſſes of thanks have been preſented, of which only eight inſtances appear upon the journals of this houſe.

3dly. Becauſe the firſt inſtance of an addreſs of this deſcription, the 18th of Auguſt 1709, was in conſequence of her Majeſty Queen Anne having complied in her anſwer with a requeſt of this houſe conveyed by an addreſs; and on the

12th of December 1723, another instance occurs of a similar addreſs of thanks, upon the royal aſſurance of the intended revocation of Wood's patent.

4thly, Becauſe that, on the 14th of December 1763, an addreſs, or vote of thanks, does not appear upon the journals, in conſequence of her Majeſty's moſt gracious anſwer to a congratulatory addreſs upon her marriage.

5thly, Becauſe, although his royal highneſs's anſwer to the addreſs of this houſe is moſt polite and gracious, yet it cannot be proved that any ſolid national benefit could be derived from it; and though it muſt be the wiſh and deſire of every loyal ſubject to pay every mark of reſpect to his royal highneſs, and to every branch of the royal family, I cannot agree to a mode of proceeding which indicates a greater compliment, and a greater degree of attention, than have uſually been paid to his Majeſty and to his royal predeceſſors.

6thly, Becauſe the ſuppoſed exigency of the ſtate, which originated the proceedings upon a regency, is no more, and conſequently the meaſure ſhould no longer be preſerved in public contemplation by addreſſes from parliament, which may have a miſchievous tendency in future. And becauſe, laſtly, that the late wiſe, political, and judicious proceedings of the parliament of Great Britain afford a memorable example well worthy of regard and attention, where proceedings upon the regency were ſuſpended, upon the report of his Majeſty's convaleſcence, and diſcharged and done away upon the happy and ſatisfactory confirmation of his Majeſty's perfect recovery and complete re-eſtabliſhment.

MOUNTMORRES.

Speech

Speech of the Lord Lieutenant *to both houſes of Parliament,* March 14.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

WITH the moſt heartfelt ſatisfaction, I take the earlieſt opportunity to inform you, in obedience to the King's commands, that it has pleaſed Divine Providence to remove from him the ſevere indiſpoſition with which he has been afflicted; and that, by the bleſſing of Almighty God, he is now again enabled to attend to the urgent concerns of his kingdoms, and perſonally to exerciſe the royal authority.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I have ſubmitted to his Majeſty's conſideration the ſupplies which you have already granted for the immediate exigencies of the public ſervice, and the performance of the national engagements; and I am commanded by his Majeſty to expreſs his perfect confidence in your readineſs to make ſuch farther proviſion as ſhall be neceſſary for the uſual ſupport of his Majeſty's government.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have it particularly in charge from his Majeſty to aſſure you, that the proſperity of his loyal and faithful people of Ireland from whom his Majeſty had repeatedly received the ſtrongeſt proofs of affectionate attachment to his ſacred perſon, will be ever near to his heart; and that his Majeſty is fully perſuaded, that your zeal for the public welfare will enable him to promote, by every wiſe and ſalutary meaſure, the intereſts of this kingdom.

I cannot conclude this communication to you without expreſſing my fulleſt conviction, that his Majeſty's faithful parliament of Ireland does not yield to any of his ſubjects in ſincere

ſincere and devout acknowledgments to Almighty God for the reſtoration of his Majeſty's health and in fervent prayers that a long continuance of that bleſſing may ſecure to the people the happineſs which they have conſtantly enjoyed under his Majeſty's mild and auſpicious government.

Addreſs of the Houſe of Lords of Ireland *to his Majeſty.*

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Lords ſpiritual and temporal, in parliament aſſembled, embrace, with unfeigned and lively joy, this opportunity of renewing to your Majeſty our moſt dutiful and ſincere profeſſions of unalterable loyalty and affectionate attachment to your Majeſty's ſacred perſon, family, and government; and of aſſuring your Majeſty, that we find ourſelves unequal to expreſs the ardent feelings of our hearts at the joyful communication, which, by your Majeſty's command, has been made to us, that it has pleaſed the Divine Providence to remove from your Majeſty the ſevere indiſpoſition with which you have been afflicted, and that you are now again enabled to attend to the urgent concerns of your kingdoms, and perſonally to exerciſe your royal authority; that, for theſe ſignal marks of Divine favour, we ſhall not ceaſe to pour out the lively effuſions of gratitude and thankſgiving to the Almighty, who has vouchſafed, in the plenitude of his mercy and goodneſs, to reſtore our beloved monarch to the fervent and united prayers of his people.

We gratefully acknowlege your Majeſty's goodneſs, in the aſſurance you have been pleaſed to give us, that the proſperity of your loyal and faithful ſubjects of this kingdom muſt ever lie near to your heart.

We

We ſhall endeavour to juſtify the confidence which your Majeſty is pleaſed to repoſe in your parliament of Ireland, by a cheerful concurrence in ſuch wiſe and ſalutary meaſures as may enable your Majeſty to fulfil your gracious intentions of promoting the general intereſts and happineſs of all your dominions.

We beg leave humbly to aſſure your Majeſty, that, ſenſible of the happineſs which we have conſtantly enjoyed under your Majeſty's mild and auſpicious government, we do not yield to any of your people in the ſincerity with which we offer up our devout acknowledgments to Almighty God for your Majeſty's happy reſtoration to your former health; and that we ſhall unceaſingly ſupplicate the Divine Providence for a long and uninterrupted continuance of that inеſtimable bleſſing.

His Majeſty's Anſwer.

HIS Majeſty receives with the greateſt ſatisfaction the dutiful and loyal addreſs of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, in parliament aſſembled.

His Majeſty accepts in the moſt gracious manner the reward of their profeſſions of affectionate attachment to his perſon, family, and government, and feels with the greateſt ſenſibility the joyful expreſſions of their hearts upon the interpoſitions of Divine Providence, in reſtoring him again to the perſonal exerciſe of his royal functions. The happineſs and proſperity of his faithful ſubjects in Ireland are objects very near his Majeſty's heart; and he confides in the wiſdom of the parliament of that kingdom, that they will purſue ſuch meaſures as will enable him to fulfil his intentions of promoting the general intereſts of all his dominions.

Addreſs

Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons of Ireland *to his Majeſty.*

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Commons of Ireland, in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to lay before your Majeſty our aſſurances of the ſincere and cordial ſatisfaction with which we are penetrated, on being informed from the throne, by your Majeſty's command, that it has pleaſed the Divine Providence to remove from your Majeſty the ſevere indiſpoſition with which you have been afflicted; and that, by the bleſſing of Almighty God, you are now again enabled to attend to the urgent concerns of your kingdoms, and perſonally to exerciſe your royal authority.

Your Majeſty entertains a juſt confidence that we ſhall cheerfully proceed in making ſuch proviſion as may be neceſſary for the honourable ſupport of your Majeſty's government.

We ſhould be dead to every generous feelings, ſhould we omit to acknowledge your majeſty's unceaſing ſolicitude for the intereſts of Ireland, or to ſecond, by every ſalutary effort, your benevolent wiſhes for the welfare of your people. The numerous bleſſings derived to this kingdom from your Majeſty's auſpicious reign, are deeply imprinted in our boſoms; and, ſenſible as we are of the ineſtimable value of their benefits, we beg leave to repeat to your Majeſty, upon this joyful occaſion, our moſt ſincere profeſſions of reſpect and attachment to your royal perſon, family, and government.

We conclude theſe our fervent congratulations with devout acknowledgment to the Almighty for this ſignal inſtance of his goodneſs in reſtoring our beloved monarch to the

the prayers of an afflicted people. Our gratitude for such a mark of the Divine favour is only equalled by the ardency of our wishes for the continuance of your Majesty's health, and that your Majesty may enjoy that invaluable blessing during a long and happy reign.

His Majesty's Answer.

HIS Majesty thanks his faithful Commons for their loyal and affectionate address, and for their assurances of the sincere and cordial satisfaction which they feel on the interposition of Divine Providence in removing from him the severe indisposition with which he has been afflicted.

Nothing can be more satisfactory to his Majesty than the disposition expressed by the house of Commons cheerfully to proceed in making such provisions as are necessary for the honourable support of his Majesty's government.

He receives with the greatest pleasure the acknowledgments of the house of Commons of their sense of the solicitude which his Majesty can never cease to entertain for the interests of Ireland, as well as their professions of respect and attachment to his person, family, and government.

We shall now briefly state the proceedings which took place in Great Britain on this melancholy occasion.

On the 16th of December, Mr. Pitt moved the following resolutions in the house of Commons which were carried after much debate, in a committee of the whole house.

1. "That it is the opinion of this committee, that his Majesty is prevented by his present indisposition from coming to his parliament and from attending to public business; and that the personal exercise of the royal authority is thereby for the present interrupted."

2. "That

2. "That it is the opinion of this committee, that it is the right and duty of the Lords ſpiritual and temporal and Commons of Great Britain now aſſembled, and lawfully, fully and freely repreſenting all the eſtates of the people of this Realm, to provide the means of ſupplying the defect of the perſonal exerciſe of the royal authority ariſing from his Majeſty's ſaid indiſpoſition, in ſuch manner as the exigency of the caſe may appear to require."

3. "That for this purpoſe, and for maintaining entire the conſtitutional authority of the King, it is neceſſary that the ſaid Lords ſpiritual and temporal and Commons of Great Britain ſhould determine on the means whereby the royal aſſent may be paſſed by the two houſes of parliament, reſpecting the exerciſe of the power and authority of the Crown, in the name and on the behalf of the King, during the continuance of his Majeſty's preſent indiſpoſition."

On the 30th of January following, the following reſolutions which had been previouſly paſſed by the Lords and Commons were preſented to the Prince of Wales.

RESOLVED, that for the purpoſe of providing for the exerciſe of the royal authority, during the continuance of his Majeſty's illneſs, in ſuch manner, and to ſuch extent, as the preſent circumſtances and the urgent concerns of the nation appear to require, it is expedient that his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, being reſident within the realm, ſhall be empowered to exerciſe and adminiſter the royal authority, according to the laws and conſtitution of Great Britain, in the name and on the behalf of his Majeſty, and under the ſtyle and title of regent of the kingdom; and to uſe, execute, and perform, in the name and on the behalf of his Majeſty, all authorities, prerogatives, acts of government, and adminiſtration of the ſame, which belong to the king of this realm

to

to uſe, execute, and perform, according to the laws thereof, ſubject to ſuch limitations and exceptions as ſhall be provided.

Reſolved, that the power, ſo to be given to his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, ſhall not extend to the granting of any rank or dignity of the peerage of the realm to any perſon whatever, except to his Majeſty's royal iſſue who ſhall have attained the full age of twenty-one years.

Reſolved, that the ſaid powers ſhould not extend to the granting of any office whatever in reverſion, or to the granting of any office, ſalary, or penſion, for any other term than during his Majeſty's pleaſure, except ſuch offices as are by law required to be granted for life, or during good behaviour.

Reſolved, that the ſaid powers ſhould not extend to the granting of any part of his Majeſty's real or perſonal eſtate, except ſo far as relates to the renewal of leaſes.

Reſolved, that the care of his Majeſty's Royal Perſon, during the continuance of his majeſty's illneſs, ſhould be committed to the Queen's moſt excellent Majeſty; and that her Majeſty ſhould have power to remove from, and to nominate and appoint ſuch perſons as ſhe ſhall think proper, to the ſeveral offices in his majeſty's houſehold; and to diſpoſe, order, and manage all other matters and things relating to the care of his Majeſty's Royal perſon, during the time aforeſaid: and that for the better enabling her Majeſty to diſcharge this important truſt, it is alſo expedient that a council ſhould be appointed, to adviſe and aſſiſt her Majeſty in the ſeveral matters aforeſaid, and with power from time to time, as they may ſee cauſe, to examine upon oath the phyſicians and others attending his Majeſty's royal perſon, touching the ſtate of his Majeſty's health, and all matters relative thereto.

Die

Die Mercurii, 28° Januarii, 1789.

Reſolved, that a committee be appointed, to attend his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales with the reſolutions which had been agreed to by the Lords and Commons for the purpoſe of ſupplying the defect of the perſonal exerciſe of the royal authority during his majeſty's illneſs, by impowering his Royal Highneſs to exerciſe ſuch authority in the name and on the behalf of his Majeſty, ſubject to the limitations and reſtrictions which the circumſtances of the caſe appear at preſent to require; and that the committee do expreſs the hope which the Lords ſpiritual and temporal, and Commons, entertain, that his Royal Highneſs, from his regard to the intereſts of his Majeſty and the nation, will be ready to undertake the weighty and important truſt propoſed to be inveſted in his Royal Highneſs, as ſoon as an act of parliament ſhall have been paſſed for carrying the ſaid Reſolution into effect.

Proteſt of the Lords, who voted on Friday, January 23, againſt agreeing to the aforeſaid Reſolutions delivered at a conference on the preceding Tueſday.

DISSENTIENT,

1ſt. BECAUSE we firmly adhere to the principles and arguments, on which we diſapproved the reſolutions formerly paſſed by this houſe, eſpecially when the legiſlative power of the two houſes of parliament, unconſtitutionally aſſumed by theſe reſolutions, is meant to be employed to reſtrict or ſuſpend many important and eſſential branches of the royal power, at the moment of the declared incapacity of the King.

2dly. Becauſe we think the power of conferring the rank and privileges of the peerage, as a reward to merit, is neceſſary to the royal authority, in order to afford an in-

citement

citement to vigorous exertions in the ſervice of the ſtate, and is more peculiarly neceſſary (like all other parts of the prerogative) when the regal power is to be exerciſed by a ſubſtitute, with an authority uncertain and precarious in its duration: but eſpecially on the preſent occaſion, as it is the only branch of the prerogative ſufficiently powerful to afford a remedy againſt ſuch a combination in this houſe, as other parts of this ſyſtem of reſtriction and mutilation, have a natural and obvious tendency to produce.

And becauſe we conceive that this reſtriction may create an intereſt in the members of this houſe, to withhold their aſſent to reſtore the antient powers of the crown in this reſpect.

3dly. Becauſe we conceive, that by the ſubſiſting law of the land, his Majeſty's property is ſufficiently ſecured from any undue diſpoſition and alienation, and the reſolution on that ſubject can have no other effect, but to convey to the publican injurious ſuſpicion, and unjuſt imputation, on the character and intentions of his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales.

4thly. Becauſe we are of opinion, that in order to maintain the proper dignity of the crown, and preſerve the due influence and reſpect which ariſes from the great offices of the ſtate, it is neceſſary that the perſon exerciſing the royal authority in the name and on the behalf of his majeſty, ſhould be attended by thoſe diſtinguiſhed ſervants, whoſe functions have been eſtabliſhed for the purpoſe of adding weight and ſplendor to the regal office. We cannot agree to a diviſion of the royal power; to the creation of a fourth eſtate, unknown to the conſtitution of this country.

FRED-

FREDERICK
HENRY

Lothian	Devonſhire	Aubley
Craven	Bedford	Carliſle
Portcheſter	Pelham	Breadalbane
Caſſilis	Abergavenny	Loughborough
Scarborough	Foley	Ponſonby
Douglas	Rawdon	St. John
R. Llandaff	Cholmondeley	Hereford
Peterborough	Stawell	Cardiff
Southampton	Shaftesbury	Chedworth
Portland	Huntingdon	Egremont
Ponſonby	Malmesbury	Sondes
Montfort	Derby	Hertford
Cadogan	Boyle	Maynard
Eglington	Sandwich	Kinnaird
Aberdeen	Chr, Briſtol	Hay
Rodney	Northumberland	W. Fitzwilliam

Buckinghamſhire.

Diſs. for the 2d, 3d, and 4th reaſons.

St. Albans.

Diſs. for the 1ſt, 2d, and 4th reaſons only.

Clifton	Spencer	Suffolk and Berks

Hawke.

Diſs. For all the reaſons given in this proteſt, except thoſe in the latter parts of the 2d reaſon, viz. beginning at theſe words, "but eſpecially on, &c." and thence to the end of that ſecond reaſon.

SALTERN.

Anſwer

Anſwer of the Prince of Wales *to the Lords and Gentlemen appointed to deliver to him the foregoing reſolutions.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I thank you for communicating to me the reſolutions agreed upon by the two houſes; and I requeſt you to aſſure them, in my name, that my duty to the King my father, and my anxious concern for the ſafety and intereſts of the people, which muſt be endangered, by a longer ſuſpenſion of the exerciſe of the royal authority; together with my reſpect for the united deſires of the two houſes, outweigh, in my mind, every other conſideration, and will determine me to undertake the weighty and important truſt propoſed to me, in conformity to the reſolutions now communicated to me. I am ſenſible of the difficulties that muſt attend the execution of this truſt, in the peculiar circumſtances in which it is committed to my charge, of which, as I am acquainted with no former example, my hopes of a ſucceſsful adminiſtration cannot be founded on any paſt experience. But conſidering that the limitations, on the exerciſe of the royal authority, deemed neceſſary for the preſent, have been approved by the two houſes only as a temporary meaſure, founded on the loyal hope, in which I ardently participate, that his Majeſty's diſorder may not be of long duration, and truſting, in the mean while, that I ſhall receive a zealous and united ſupport in the two houſes and in the nation, proportioned to the difficulty attending the diſcharge of my truſt in this interval, I will entertain the pleaſing hope, that my faithful endavours to preſerve the intereſts of the king, his crown, and people, may be ſucceſsful.

Reſolutions agreed to by the Lords and Commons, preſented to Her Majeſty *on* Friday, Jan. 30, 1789.

RESOLVED, that the care of his Majeſty's royal perſon, during the continuance of his Majeſty's illneſs, ſhould be committed

committed to the Queen's moſt excellent majeſty, and that her majeſty ſhould have power to remove from, and to nominate and appoint ſuch perſons as ſhe ſhall think proper, to the ſeveral offices in his majeſty's houſehold, and to diſpoſe, order, and manage all other matters and things relating to the care of his majeſty's royal perſon, during the time aforeſaid. And that, for the better enabling her Majeſty to diſcharge this important truſt, it is alſo expedient that a council ſhould be appointed, to adviſe and aſſiſt her majeſty in the ſeveral matters, and with power, from time to time as they may ſee cauſe, to examine upon oath the phyſicians and others attending his majeſty's perſon, touching the ſtate of his majeſty's health, and all matters relative thereto.

Reſolved, that the reſolution agreed to by the Lords and Commons, reſpecting the care of his majeſty's royal perſon, and the direction of his majeſty's houſehold, be laid before her Majeſty, with an humble addreſs, expreſſing the hope which the lords ſpiritual and temporal and Commons entertain, that her majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to undertake the important truſt propoſed to be inveſted in her Majeſty, as ſoon as an act of parliament ſhall have been paſſed for carrying the ſaid reſolution into effect.

Her Majeſty's *Anſwer to the Lords and Gentlemen, who delivered the foregoing reſolutions.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

MY duty and gratitude to the king, and the ſenſe I muſt ever entertain of my great obligations to this country, will certainly engage my moſt earneſt attention to the anxious and momentous truſt intended to be repoſed in me by parliament. It will be a great conſolation to me to receive the aid of a council, of which I ſhall ſtand ſo much in need, in the diſcharge of a duty wherein the happineſs of my future life

is

is indeed deeply intereſted, but which a higher object, the happineſs of a great, loyal, and affectionate people, renders ſtill more important.

On the 25th of May 1789, the parliament of Ireland was prorogued to the 27th of July following.

We ſhall now return to the parliamentary proceedings in Ireland, of which we ſhall here only notice, that a petition of the inhabitants of the city of Dublin and liberties thereof paying taxes, whoſe names are thereunto ſubſcribed, was preſented to the houſe and read: ſetting forth, that the petitioners in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament preferred a petition to the houſe, ſtating many grievances under which they laboured in conſequence of the inſtitution of the police eſtabliſhment of this city by the act of the twenty-ſixth year of his preſent majeſty; that an act was paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion, entitled an act for rendering more effectual ſaid act, by which the taxes originally impoſed on the petitioners have been conſiderably augmented; that the petitioners, notwithſtanding they are loaded with ſuch weight of taxes, humbly beg leave to repreſent that they have found, from continued experience, that the ſecurity of the perſons, habitations and properties of the inhabitants has been rendered more precarious and uncertain ſince the eſtabliſhment of ſaid police than before; that the crimes and immoralities to which this city was before ſubject, are rather increaſed than diminiſhed, and therefore the petitioners are convinced that ſuch eſtabliſhment has by no means anſwered the good intention of the legiſlature, but on the contrary has been injurious to the civil rights and properties of the inhabitants of this city, and to the magiſtracy thereof; that from the ſeveral circumſtances and facts before ſtated, the petitioners humbly beg leave to repreſent that no guard whatever, independent of and not under the controul of the pariſhioners of the reſpective pariſhes, can poſſibly afford ſufficient or ſatisfactory ſecurity to the

the perſons and properties of the citizens of Dublin; that an act of parliament was paſſed in the ſeventeenth and eighteenth years of his preſent majeſty, entitled an act for improving the city of Dublin, and the petitioners are humbly of opinion that a law founded on the principles of the ſaid act, as to a wardmote, would afford a conſtitutional guard for this city, effectual for the protection of the inhabitants, at leſs than half the expence of the preſent police eſtabliſhment; and therefore praying that the ſaid acts of the twenty-ſixth year of his preſent majeſty of the laſt ſeſſion may be repealed, and that an act may be paſſed for eſtabliſhing a nightly guard or watch in this city, founded upon the principles of the ſaid act of the ſeventeenth and eighteenth of his preſent majeſty.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Earl of Weſtmoreland Lord Lieutenant—Seſſions open'd in January, 1790—Mr. Grattan's ſpeech on the addreſs to his Majeſty.—proceedings reſpecting public expences.—and on ſtats in actions of ſlander.—place-bill and penſion-bill rejected.—Speaker's ſpeech on preſenting the money-bills.—prorogation.—diſſolution of parliament.—new Election.

THE marquis of Buckingham, having previouſly appointed Lord's juſtices, retired to England, after the cloſe of the laſt ſeſſion—and was ſucceeded in the Vice-regency of this kingdom by the Earl of Weſtmoreland; who opened the ſeſſion on the 21 of January 1790.——The Speech contained nothing remarkable,—but on the uſual addreſs to his majeſty being propoſed, Mr. Grattan aroſe, and ſaid, tho' he did not intend to give any oppoſition to the addreſs, yet he felt himſelf called upon to make ſome obſervations upon the tranſactions which had taken place during the interval of time which had elapſed from the cloſe of the laſt to the opening of the preſent ſeſſion; and though he could freely declare that he had not the ſmalleſt perſonal diſlike to the miniſters who had governed during that period, yet it was impoſſible for him to avoid reprobating their meaſures; it was impoſſible for him to avoid declaring that the conduct of thoſe miniſters was little leſs than a daring outrage on the liberties and the morals of the people, for at no period

ſo many inſtances of corruption and coercion had occurred. He therefore choſe the earlieſt part of the ſeſſion to mark his diſapprobation of them. In the laſt five years, you have added, ſaid he, at the rate of 200,000l. per annum, annual increaſe to your national expenſes; a ſum more than the whole intereſt of the nation's debt, and equal to one-fifth of her annual expence.

You are aſtoniſhed!—you have reaſon—it is near one-fifth of your net revenue, and more than the whole intereſt of the national debt: part of this increaſe can be juſtified—the expence of annual ſeſſions, the return of the army, the charge of the poſt-office, and ſome other articles; but, after every fair deduction, and every candid allowance, from ſuch an increaſe, in ſo ſhort a period, this propoſition is eſtabliſhed—that you have been ill governed!—Part of this increaſe is owing to the civil liſt, and the moſt exceptionable part of the civil liſt, the penſion liſt. Scarce had the new taxes, on the credit of the expected commerce, been granted, when the commerce was perverted, and the taxes miſapplied, granted on an engagement to equalize. Where is your equalization? Like that commerce, vaniſhed. Our eyes about that time beheld with aſtoniſhment, in return for new taxes, a new penſion liſt, which we were not able to pay, nor the miniſter able to juſtify; but we have ſince beheld with much more aſtoniſhment, a viceroy complain of that extravagance, and then augment it. We propoſed to ſtrike off the obnoxious penſions; we were reſiſted by that viceroy; we propoſed to limit and curtail that penſion liſt, we were reſiſted by that viceroy; but the ſecretary, who had contributed to its increaſe, became the object of his reward. With every reſpect to the memory of the Duke of Rutland, and without the ſmalleſt perſonal diſreſpect to Mr. Orde, let me ſay ſomething in favour of the Marquis of Buckingham, when he reſiſted—though I can ſay nothing for him when he acceded to that penſion.

I ſpeak

I ſpeak of the principal, not of Mr. Orde; a lord lieutenant's ſecretary has no official pretenſion to an Iriſh proviſion; choſen without public confidence, often continued without public advantage, he may retire without public gratitude.

In England they do not uſually penſion their ſecretaries; —the late lord Chatham was penſioned, but penſioned for a ſpecial ſervice, for conquering France; and if Ireland were the natural enemy of England, ſome of her ſecretaries would have like pretenſions. This penſion was the more improper, becauſe you had raiſed the ſalary of the ſecretary to prevent it. In 1783, you raiſed the ſalary of the ſecretary and the viceroy. Lord Buckingham was a party to that augmentation—Lord Northington, who profeſſed nothing, refuſed; Lord Buckingham, who was nothing but profeſſion, acceded to it. In his diſpatch, which I have ſeen, he expreſſes his ſenſe of the merit of the refuſal, and his approbation of the increaſe and his pretence was the magnificence of the office. He has lived to refute the reaſon by his private œconomy, to prove that the increaſe of the viceroy's ſalary was uſeleſs—as by his public prodigality he has rendered the increaſe of the ſecretary's ſalary fruitleſs. This penſion was aggravated by another grant to another abſentee ſecretary, the brother of the late viceroy.—Sir, the ſon of the author of the American ſtamp act, and the colonial doctrine of taxation, without repreſentation—the brother of that man who queſtioned the privileges, and who has ſince attempted to deſtroy the integrity of your parliament—himſelf the advocate for the propoſitions, has no right to the beſt reverſion in your country, unconnected with this kingdom by reſidence, and now only connected by the crimes of his family, and the ſtigma you have juſtly impoſed upon them.

Sir, this reverſion was the more improper, becauſe you had juſt paid immoderate compenſation to buy home abſentee employments; but it ſeems that a viceroy has over this country

country certain predatory rights, and having done much public miſchief, is entitled to gratify his corrupt aſſociates.

I have ſtated that the civil liſt had greatly increaſed (within five years above 30,000.) but that is not the only increaſe; the military liſt has increaſed much more, ſince 1784, 100,000l. per annum. I know part of this charge is transfer, but I know a great part is not; the late viceroy increaſed your number of men in place, when you did not want men, and when you did want money. The ſtatement ſubmitted by the late viceroy was fallacious; it ſet forth that you only increaſed your military expences 2000l. per annum —that is not the fact: it ſet a temporary reduced expence againſt a perpetual expence incurred. The expence was not avowed, nor the object; the effect has been, more men for the plantations, without diſcuſſing or queſtioning the propriety of ſuch an object. I muſt obſerve, that ſo great an addition in peace to the military expences of the country, makes every unneceſſary addition to her civil expences doubly criminal and proſtigate.

The civil and military charges are not the only ones which have increaſed, the collection of the revenue has in the courſe of five years increaſed, including the poſt-office, above 100,000l.—part of this increaſe took place under the late viceroy, who, with reſpect to thoſe charges, may be ſaid to have found them extravagant, to have declared them to be extravagant, and to have reſiſted their retrenchment —more, he has increaſed all theſe charges, he has added to this extravagance—he has been actively miſchievous—he is guilty of economy omitted, economy reſiſted, of prodigality added, and of prodigality for corrupt purpoſes.

In ſtating the expences of government, I muſt not omit the Police, and charge it to the late viceroy, as well as to the adminiſtration who deviſed it, becauſe perfectly appriſed of all its corruptions, he continued it; it ſeems the prodigality of the court had reached the docility of the city;

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an unconſtitutional adminiſtration wiſhed to continue an unconſtitutional protection, an influenced corporation, and a place army; they knew, that in order to trample on a country, it was not ſufficient to corrupt the ſenate, it was neceſſary to pollute the great maſs of the people; with unconſtitutional deſigns againſt both, they continued an eſtabliſhment which ſhould extend beyond theſe walls the evil of their operation. They ſaw the extravagance; but then, they ſaw that miniſters, like themſelves, muſt govern by ſuch arts, and if the conductors of the Police could be ſuſpected to have had a deſign upon their fund, this miniſtry had a worſe deſign on the corporation; they therefore rejected a reſolution declaratory of the police's extravagance, and rejected the report of the police committee, under a conviction of its veracity; the report convicts the ſcheme of prodigality, and the rejection of that report, proves the government to be an accomplice.

The ſubſequent reductions in the police, in conſequence of that report, are a peace offering to reconcile the public to the miniſter's object in the police, an unconſtitutional and corrupt influence in the corporation of the city, and a place army to encourage his accomplices.

I have ſtated the expences of government to have increaſed near 200,000l. ſince 1784, excluſive of the bounty, but the encreaſe of expence is the leaſt objection—your race of bankruptcy is much leſs dangerous than your race of corruption.

I will begin with the encreaſe of patronage in the ordnance, the region of the late viceroy's reformation. The charges now are 600l. a year—the lieutenant general 800l. a year, with a houſe for the ſurveyor—the ſtorekeeper 400l. clerk of the ordnance 400l.—clerk of the deliveries 400l.—Theſe offices he found, ſurveyor 450l.—ſtorekeeper 200l.—clerk of the ordnance 300l.—clerk of the deliveries 200l.—

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But by the king's letter, they were on the death or removal of the officer to be reduced, and in the inſtance of Lord Drogheda, that reduction had taken place—lieutenant general to 300l.—ſurveyor 300l.—clerk to the ordnance 150l. —ſtorekeeper 150. The late viceroy is then chargeable, not only for the prodigality he added, but for the economy he prevented. He is then chargeable 1500l. per annum added to the expence, beſide a penſion of 600l. to General Hale.

We ſhall hear of a ſaving, but that ſaving, ſuppoſing it annual and certain, does not ariſe from the regulation of new expence, and therefore can be no juſtification thereof, on the contrary, is rendered more precarious thereby; the places are now all co-ordinate parliamentary places, a circumſtance not a little likely to deſtroy official ſubordination, and baniſh official conſideration; the officers of the ordnance will be made, and one already has been made, victims of their votes, not of their negligence; the increaſe of expence therefore is the leaſt objection, the capital objection is, the increaſe of influence—ſo many leſſer places brought into parliamentary action, and adding a very conſiderable influence to the miniſter, at a very conſiderable expence to the nation; on that moſt prodigal and profligate principle, which does not wait for vacancy, nor appoint men to offices, but makes the offices for the men, and raiſes the ſalary according to their parliamentary pretenſions.

I do not inquire whether the late Mr. Ward had any right to complain of the Marquis of Buckingham, but this country had a right to complain of both the officers who made charges which were falſe, and the viceroy who made the miſconduct of the officer a pretence for making charges which were unneceſſary. Thus ſtands the public account againſt the two defaulters, Ward and Buckingham; ſo much

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loſt by the peculation of the officer, ſo much by the jobbing of the viceroy; the public has been injured by both the oppreſſor and the oppreſſed.

Sir, the cataſtrophe of that unhappy man, if it did not excite pity for his fate, ſhould have excited a horror of his offences; it is, therefore, in the ordnance I leaſt expected that the late miniſter would have indulged any of his peccant tendencies; it is here we ſhould look for, but do not find, the diſpaſſionate judge; it is here we ſhould not look for, and do find, the greedy executioner, catching at the rage of the criminal, and making victims, where a juſt man would have only made an example.

To theſe offices, now made parliamentary, we are to add another parliamentary office, in the revival of the ſecond counſel to the commiſſioners; that place was a wretched remnant of a wretched meaſure, adopted againſt the ſenſe of this houſe, for no other object but undue influence; the diviſions of the boards of cuſtoms and exciſe, on account of impracticability, odium, and your interference, was abandoned; the office of ſecond counſel was ſuffered to linger after it, a corrupt branch of that corrupt meaſure, the poſſeſſor dying in 1778, the then lord lieutenant diſcontinued the office for a public reaſon, the late lord lieutenant reviv-ed it, for a private one.

To this new office we are loaded with two new commiſſioners. It ſhould ſeem that the great reformer of this country diſcovered our grievances to exiſt in a want of a ſufficient number of gentlemen ſitting and voting in parliament. The laws of England exclude the commiſſioners from ſitting in parliament. The government of Ireland makes men commiſſioners becauſe they have ſeats in parliament. The laws of England are wiſe; ſo long as you ſuffer the collection of the revenue to be an object of court patronage,

nage, ſo long will it ever be a ſink of jobbing, and a ſource of extravagance; and ſo long as thoſe employed in collecting the revenue can ſpare time to attend in this houſe, and even to approach the cabinet, ſo long will the miniſter be deſtitute of the pretence of additional trouble to augment either their number or their ſalary. You pay 12000l. a year compenſation for ſuppreſſing the diviſion of the boards; you pay 2000l. for reviving it, and you pay 2000l. a year to a chief commiſſioner for rendering the old eſtabliſhment of ſeven leſs neceſſary or efficient.

I have only alluded to the influence and expence of this meaſure; but there is an argument againſt it greatly aggravating both: the ſenſe of this houſe repeatedly declared on the ſubject; there is no leſs than three reſolutions declaring that ſeven commiſſioners are ſufficient. The firſt reſolution declared that ſeven commiſſioners had been found ſufficient, and was laid before his excellency the then lord lieutenant. The ſecond reſolution declared that this houſe would refuſe its aſſent to any alteration in the revenue laws which ſhould tend to give effect to the meaſure of dividing the boards of exciſe from that of cuſtoms, and of multiplying the number of commiſſioners, which had been adopted againſt the ſenſe of the houſe. The third reſolution declares that whoever adviſed the increaſe of the commiſſioners of the revenue beyond ſeven, adviſed a meaſure contrary to the ſenſe of this houſe: the boards were afterwards united; the additional commiſſioners ſtruck off; 600l. a year compenſation given; and this re-union was ſtiled by the miniſter as a meaſure acceding to the wiſhes of the people, and was accompanied with an application for new taxes, which were granted accordingly.

From a meaſure which does not even profeſs utility, I come to another which hangs out the flag of idleneſs; you judge, I mean the appointing two commiſſioners to the rolls; when

when that office became vacant, the firſt idea that ſhould have recurred to a real reformer was, to make it a public uſe, or its ſuppreſſion a public ſaving, and the worſt idea that could have occurred was, to continue it a ſinecure, and multiply the number of the officers; no, it was not the worſt, there was a groſſer idea yet behind, to increaſe the number of the officers for the purpoſe of providing for the relatives of the miniſter who made the increaſe. Have the crown lawyers been conſulted on this buſineſs? One of the noble commiſſioners was pleaſed to lament the expence to which this country had been put in a grant to me, and a penſion to the family of Mr. Burgh: the firſt I do not think is neceſſary to defend; as to the ſecond, I own I did not expect to find at the tomb of that illuſtrious man an occaſional reſident, weeping, not over the death of the father, but the proviſion for the children. Could I, who had ſeen the money of Ireland ſquandered to the friends, the followers, the paraſites of various viceroys, heſitate to ſnatch from the hand of rapine one portion, and conſecrate it to the family of Burgh: the noble lord who repines, will now have ample cauſe for concern, if he chooſes to lament; and if he chooſes to defend the various jobs of his noble relation, he will find none leſs eaſy to be defended than that by which he himſelf has been appointed.

On the ſame principle of encreaſing the influence of the crown, has the late lord lieutenant divided the boards of ſtamps and accounts; after encreaſing the charges of the eſtabliſhments by a variety of jobs; he appropriates a board for the purpoſe of ſuperintending the public expence, and makes that appointment a violation of its own principle, and one of the great jobs of his government. The board of accounts, when firſt eſtabliſhed, was by many thought uſeleſs; to give it the colour of utility, and to reconcile us both to it and to the ſtamp-act, the miniſter declared in parliament

ment that he would annex the collection of the ſtamps to the board of accounts, and his declaration was followed by the tax, and then carried into execution. Some time after, an annual report being, under act of parliament, made and preſented to this houſe by the commiſſioners of accounts, it was thought proper to advance their ſalary for the joint and additional labour. Theſe boards are now divided; five officers of ſtamps, one with 800l. the reſt with 500l. ſo that you collect the ſtamps at above 18 per cent. and five commiſſioners of accounts, who retain 800l. the joint conſideration for the divided labour.

With every reſpect to the commiſſioners, however diſpoſed to œconomy, they have it not in their power to be of any great advantage; they may examine vouchers, they may controul tradeſmen; but the great political jobber, the miniſter, they cannot touch him; they muſt follow the profeſſion of the miniſter, they cannot check it: if you are in earneſt on the ſubject of œconomy, appoint commiſſioners, who are not to be members of parliament; and let this Houſe itſelf become a committee of reduction; and its firſt report ſhall be againſt Lord Buckingham, and particularly the diviſion of ſtamps from accounts.

I have mentioned ſome of the new charges of the late miniſter, exceptionable from the growth of expence; more exceptionable from the growth of patronage. In the laſt ſeſſion we called for a return of all offices created ſince 1769, and now in the poſſeſſion of members of parliament; from that return, and from the peruſal of your eſtabliſhments, you will find that in the courſe of twenty-one years, the increaſe of ſuch new offices now poſſeſſed by members, has been not leſs, if not more, than the number of all your counties. Thus, in the courſe of twenty-one years, you

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have introduced an innovation, which muſt produce a very conſiderable change in the balance of the conſtitution; they have introduced, ſilently and inſenſibly, a parliamentary reform; but a reform on very different principles from thoſe of the public; a parliamentary reform increaſing in the Houſe of Commons the repreſentatives of the miniſter, and diminiſhing the repreſentatives of the people.

The meaſures I complain of are not only a dangerous increaſe of miniſterial influence; they are an open breach of public faith. The penſion to a late ſecretary, was a breach of an engagement, underſtood at the time when the ſalary of the ſecretary was increaſed: the grant of the reverſion to another abſentee ſecretary is a breach of another engagement, underſtood at a time, when great compenſations were made to buy home abſentee employments—the increaſe of the ſalaries of the ordnance, in breach of the king's letter of 1765, enjoining a diminution of the ſalary, the diviſion of the ſtamps and accounts, is a breach of a public promiſe made in this houſe, when the ſtamp-act was propounded, and the diviſion of the boards of cuſtoms and exciſe, and the multiplication of the commiſſioners, is a breach of another ſolemn engagement made in this houſe, as a peace-offering, when various new taxes were propoſed and aſſented to. Thus, the late miniſter has not only broken his own engagements of economy, but the ſolemn promiſes of his predeceſſors, and has expoſed the government to the charge of keeping eveay corrupt compact with the individual, and breaking their honourable engagements with the public.

Sir, the evils which have taken place, lead me to conſider the reſiſtance to the bills that would have prevented them—a penſion-bill, a place-bill; the former was reſiſted the laſt ſeſſion, becauſe, as they on the part of government ſaid, it was unneceſſary; at that time they made it indiſpenſable,

ble, held it up in traffic, had it at market, a refort againſt popular and conſtitutional meaſures, the prince, the nobles, and the people. It was reſiſted on another pretence, becauſe it legalized ſo great a ſum as 80,000l. at the very time the miniſter objected to a penſion-bill, becauſe it legalized 80,000l. they made the penſion-liſt above 100,000l.—it was reſiſted on another pretence, becauſe it gave a latitude for the Royal Family, and at that time they granted a penſion of 4000l. to the Duke of Glouceſter.

They reſiſted a place-bill under ſimilar circumſtances; at the time of their reſiſtance, they were dividing boards, ſplitting ſinecures, and multiplying offices; at one and the ſame time reſiſting the bill by their influence, and making it neceſſary by their tranſgreſſions. It was not an error in judgment, nor a knotty doubt on a puzzled point of ſpeculation: no, it was a perfect conviction on the part of the miniſters, of the utility of ſuch a meaſure, and a decided determination to commit the corruptions thoſe bills would guard againſt; they were reſiſted by his majeſty's miniſter, with malice propenſe againſt the community. My friend, who failed, urged theſe bills with the arguments of a provident ſenator, but the miniſter is a thunderbolt in their favour; he is that public malefactor, who calls out for penal laws, by the authority of the crimes in which he participates; "the evils againſt which you heſitate to provide, I am committing. I am creating places and multiplying penſions; and I am ſo doing, for the reaſons you doubt corruption." Theſe are not his words; no, but they are the words of his offences.

Perhaps theſe offences may admoniſh you to your ſafety, perhaps the conduct of the late viceroy was a criſis in the public diſorder to mature the public remedy; as the ſpecific

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owes its diſcovery to the diſeaſe; perhaps a code of wholeſome law may owe its birth to the Marquis of Buckingham; perhaps ſome patriot government, on the ruins of his inſane regulations in the re-aſcending ſcale of liberty, may aſſent to conſtitutional meaſures; a place bill, a penſion bill, and others, and ſo give relief to an injured community. Had it been one place, ſome ſolitary reaſon might be advanced, ſome ſolitary friend might put forward ſome ſolitary pretence, but here is a hoſt of them; crime throws light on crime, and they give teſtimony againſt one another: they amount to a project of corrupt government, apparent on the face of the meaſures, they betray; betray, do I ſay! Why, the crime is not concealed, never was a proceeding more public; the evil was real, and in every corner of the capital you diſcovered ſuſpicious groupes of political figures, tampering with the repreſentatives of the people: in the mean time, public buſineſs ſtopped; no education bill, no barren land bill; there was on the part of the miniſter, a prohibition of public buſineſs, and a ſale of public meaſures; this ſyſtem of corruption has been aided by a ſyſtem of coercion, and men have been diſmiſſed? Why were they diſmiſſed? not for queſtioning the privileges of parliament, like the late viceroy; not for acting in defiance of its reſolution, like the late viceroy; not for filling the populace with empty hopes, like that viceroy; not for feeding their friends on pretended public reformations, like that viceroy.

But there are ſome penal meaſures; why defy explanation? Why deprive the penſioner who got his penſion with the approbation of government, as compenſation for office extinguiſhed; Is compenſation to be conſidered as a bribe for a vote? Why deprive the penſioner who got his penſion to ſupport hereditary honours? is the prop of honour to be conſidered a bribe? why deprive the penſioner who got his penſion on the addreſs of one of the houſes of parliament, is

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that to be conſidered as a bribe? Are the nobility of this country to be ſubject to a letter miſſive, or a meſſage from a clerk or runner, deſiring that they will attend in their place, and vote to blemiſh their blood, and ſave their penſion! Such has been the conduct of your reformer. This was the man; you remember his entry into the capital, trampling on the hearſe of the Duke of Rutland, and ſeated in a triumphal car, drawn by public credulity; on one ſide fallacious hope, and on the other many mouthed profeſſion; a figure with two faces, one turned to the treaſury, and the other preſented to the people; and with a double tongue, ſpeaking contradictory languages.

This miniſter alights; juſtice looks up to him with empty hopes, and peculation faints with idle alarms; he finds the city a prey to an unconſtitutional police; he continues it; he finds the country over-burthened with a ſhameful penſion liſt; he encreaſes it; he finds the Houſe of Commons ſwarming with place-men—he multiplies them; he finds the ſalary of the ſecretary encreaſed to prevent a penſion—he grants a penſion; he finds the kingdom drained by abſentee employments, and by compenſations to buy them home—he gives the beſt reverſion in the country to an abſentee, his brother! He finds the government, at different times, had diſgraced itſelf by creating ſinecures, to gratify corrupt affection; he makes two commiſſioners of the rolls, and gives one of them to another brother; he finds the ſecond council to the commiſſioners put down becauſe uſeleſs, he revives it; he finds the boards of accounts and ſtamps annexed by public compact; he divides them; he finds the boards of cuſtom and exciſe united by public compact; he divides them; he finds three reſolutions, declaring, that ſeven commiſſioners are ſufficient; he makes nine; he finds the country has ſuffered by ſome peculations in the ordnance; he encreaſes the ſalaries of offices, and gives the places to members; to members of parliament!

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What will you ſay now, when the viceroy ſhakes hands with the populace, and enfeoffs himſelf to the loweſt popularity. He ſhould not proceed on the principles of Punic faith, or of Parthian flight, to retain the affections of the public; on negative terms, it is difficult: but to attach them by injuries, to annex the deluſion of the public to his perſon, and the plunder of the country to his family, is a monſter in the hiſtory of ambition.

What ſhall we ſay to the public peculator, for he will triumph and he will calculate, and he will ſet up the innocence of little peculations againſt the crimes of affected, and teizing, and little regulation?

What ſhall we ſay to the people? They looked for relief, becauſe they were oppreſſed, and looked to Lord Buckingham for relief, becauſe they were deceived; it is to relieve them, I wiſh to direct the attention of this ſeſſion.

Sir, the prodigality of honours, places and penſions, by the preſent miniſters of the crown, was held to be ſo criminal as to render the ordinary proviſions in Great Britain inſufficient, and extraordinary, and unconſtitutional reſtrictions, admiſſible; ſome of thoſe miniſters having committed in Ireland, in this particular, exceſſes far beyond thoſe, which falſehood preſumed to propheſy, to diſparage the ſecond perſonage in theſe dominions.

What meaſure ſhall they find? Shew them a juſtice which they refuſed to the ſon of their prince, and only reſort to conſtitutional proviſions, ſuch as may aboliſh theſe grievances, and guard the country againſt the danger of a repetition of them."

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The principal buſineſs of this ſeſſion, related to public expence—and ſome abuſes which had ariſen in the application of Judges Fiats in actions of ſlander.

Reſpecting the former, Mr. Forbes moved, "That an "humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, ſtating, that "the houſe having taken into conſideration the income and "expenditure of the nation, found themſelves obliged to lay "before him certain abuſes and miſapplications of a con-"ſiderable portion of the public revenues. That the liſt of "penſions on the 21ſt of January, 1789, appears to have "encreaſed to the ſum of 101,000l. excluſive of the military "penſions, which amounted to 6500l. a ſum nearly equal "to half the charges of the civil eſtabliſhment. That the "penſions placed on the civil and military eſtabliſhments "ſince the 24th of February, 1784, excluſive of thoſe grant-"ed in lieu or exchange of former penſions, amounted to "29,800l. that the amount of penſions on the civil eſtabliſh-"ment had encreaſed ſince the 25th of March, 1784, in "the ſum of 16,000l. that many of thoſe penſions had been "granted to members of parliament, during the pleaſure of "the crown, in violation of the principles of the conſtituti-"on and honour of the houſe of commons. That a number "of new and additional ſalaries, in the nature of penſions, "had of late been annexed, not only to old offices which "had become obſolete and uſeleſs, but alſo to leſſer offices "moſtly ſinecure, or hitherto conſidered of ſo inſignificant "a nature, as to entitle the holders of ſuch offices to very "ſmall ſalaries. That an addition of 300l. a year had been "lately granted to the ſalary of the cuſtomer of Kinſale, to "commence from the 29th of September, 1789, and a fur-"ther addition of 200l. payable on a contingency; both for "the life of the preſent poſſeſſor: an office which for years "had been conſidered as uſeleſs and obſolete, to which not "only no duty whatſoever was annexed, nor any attendance "neceſſary. That an addition of 400l. a year had been late-

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" ly granted to the comptroller of the pipe, though 53l. 10s. " had for years been conſidered as an adequate compenſation " for the diſcharge of the duties of that office. That an ad- " dition of 150l. a year, had alſo been lately granted to the " barrack maſter of Dublin. That the perſons to whom thoſe " additional ſalaries had been granted, were all members of " the houſe of commons, and humbly beſeeching his Ma- " jeſty to interpoſe to reſtrain the progreſs of a ſyſtem of ex- " pence, which would ſoon induce a neceſſity of reſorting " to new loans, and of impoſing new taxes.' This motion on a diviſion of the houſe was loſt by a majority of 44. A motion relative to the influence of the crown was alſo loſt by a conſiderable majority.

On the 20th of February, Mr. Grattan moved, " that a ſelect committee be appointed to enquire in the moſt ſolemn manner, whether the late or preſent adminiſtration had entered into any corrupt agreement with any perſon or perſons to recommend ſuch perſon or perſons to his majeſty, as fit and proper perſons to be by him made peers of this realm, in conſideration of ſuch perſon or perſons giving certain ſums of money to be laid out in procuring the return of members to ſerve in parliament, contrary to the rights of the people, inconſiſtent with the independence of parliament, and in violation of the fundamental laws of the land."

Mr. Grattan pledged himſelf to convict government of the meaſure, and dared them to the enquiry in a ſtile of the moſt mortifying and humiliating defiance. Government, conſcious of the iniquity of the meaſure, avoided entering into the enquiry on the ground, that common fame ought not to become the ſubject of enquiry, and that the queſtion related to the exerciſe of his majeſty's prerogative; and on the queſtion being put on Mr. Grattan's motion, it was loſt by a majority of 56 in favour of government.

A practice had of late prevailed,* of iſſuing writs for large ſums of money in actions of ſlander, where no ſpecific injury was ſtated in the affidavit, on which ſuch action was founded. With a view to remedy this injury, Mr. George Ponſonby in a committee appointed for the purpoſe, propoſed a reſolution to the following effect, "That it is the "opinion of this committee, that the iſſuing of writs from "the courts of juſtice in actions of ſlander or defamation, "where the ſum of damages could not be fairly aſcertained, "and holding perſons to ſpecial bail in exceſſive ſums, "is illegal and ſubverſive of the liberty of the ſubject.

Although this vote of cenſure was not carried, it was attended with beneficial conſequences, as the iſſuing of fiats, and requiring exceſſive bail in actions of defamation, were reſtrained by it within conſtitutional bounds. A place bill, a penſion bill, and one for diſqualifying revenue officers from voting at general elections were ſeverally rejected, and a reſponſibility bill ſhared a ſimilar fate.

On the 5th of April, the parliament was prorogued to the 5th of June following.——On preſenting the money bills, the ſpeaker made the following ſpeech.

May it pleaſe your Excellency,

Every year's experience, ſince 1785, has ſhewn the wiſdom of the principle which the commons then eſtabliſhed, of preventing the further accumulation of national debt. Under the influence of that principle, public credit has riſen ſo high as to admit of an increaſe to the ſinking fund, by a conſiderable diminution in the intereſt of the public debt. Private credit too has felt its ſalutary effects; and the advanced ſtate of both has given vigour to induſtry, and a ſteady aid to mercantile exertion.

We

* View of Iriſh affairs, Vol. IId.

We now ſee our commerce extended to a degree unknown in any former time, our agriculture increaſed even beyond the moſt ſanguine ſpeculation, and our linen manufacture riſen largely in its value. Such is the preſent proſperous ſituation of this country, and we behold it with the more ſatisfaction, becauſe it has not ariſen from temporary or accidental circumſtances, but has proceeded in a ſteady and regular courſe, from a wiſe ſyſtem uniformly adhered to, and from a confidence of the nation in a continuance of that ſyſtem, from the ſecurity given to private property againſt the violence of outrage, and above all, from that content and peaceable ſubmiſſion to the laws, without which no kingdom, however bleſſed in conſtitution, climate, ſoil, or ſituation, can be rich, powerful, or happy.

Soon after the prorogation took place, the parliament was diſſolved by royal proclamation, and a new parliament ſummoned to meet on the 20th of May 1790.

CHAP. VII.

Meeting of parliament 20 of January 1791.---Encouragement of Brewerys.---Mr. Ponſonby moves for a ſelect committee to enquire into the uſe of certain offices.---Debate thereon.---motion rejected.---ſecond motion on the ſubject.—Speech's of Mr. Ponſonby.—Sir Hercules Langriſhe, &c.---motion rejected.---debates relative to ſale of Peerages.---motion for a Committee of enquiry thereon rejected.---Cloſe of the ſeſſion, 5th May, 1791.

THE Parliament met again 20th January 1791.—At this meeting, a rupture was apprehended between the Courts of Spain and Great Britain, but the Lord Lieutenant in his ſpeech now conveyed the pleaſing intelligence, that all differences had been amicably adjuſted.

The immoderate uſe of ardent ſpirits by the lower order of the people, induced the legiſlature to turn its attention to the prevention of this abuſe, and the encouragement of Breweries became a ſubject of enquiry during the preſent ſeſſion.

On the 3d of February, Mr. George Ponſonby moved, "That a ſelect Committee ſhould be appointed, conſiſting of members of the houſe of Commons not holding any employment, or enjoying any penſion under the Crown, to examine whether any, or what advantages have ariſen to this kingdom from the appointment of two additional Commiſſioners of the Revenue;—from the ſeparation of the board of ſtamps and accounts;—from the granting 500l. a year

a year additional ſalary to the ſurveyor of the Ordnance; 250l. additional ſalary to the principal Store-keeper of the Ordnance;—250l. a year to the Clerk of the Ordnance;—200l. a year additional ſalary to the Clerk of the Delivery of the Ordnance; 600l. a year penſion to General Hale, in lieu of his reſigning his employment of Lieutenant General of the Ordnance, in order to facilitate the ſucceſſion of the preſent poſſeſſor; 400l. a year additional ſalary to the Clerk of the Pipe;—400l. a year additional ſalary to the Cuſtomer of Kinſale;—and 150l. a year additional ſalary to the Barrack-maſter of Dublin; and that they do report their opinion thereon to the Houſe.

Mr. Grattan ſeconded the motion, which was oppoſed and rejected on a diviſion of 56 againſt 117.——Upon the determination of this motion Mr. Ponſonby again addreſs'd the houſe,—"I have (ſaid he) been always told, and I do firmly believe, that there are none ſo blind as thoſe who will not ſee; and I am ſorry to perceive ſo many blind men of that deſcription on the other ſide of the houſe.

I have been often told, and I did believe it in general, that there was no man ſo poſitive in his opinion as a bigot in religion. But may not a bigot in politics, be alſo as poſitive, and from the ſame cauſe—that he allows his faith to controul his reaſon; I am ſorry to perceive ſo many political bigots on the other ſide.

The motion that I had the honour to make to you, Sir, being now diſpoſed of, I ſhall make you another.—"That "a Committee be appointed, conſiſting of members of this "houſe, who do not hold place or penſion, to enquire and "report their opinion, what advantage the public have re-"ceived from the appointment of two additional commiſſion-"ers to the board of revenue."

I make

I make this motion, Sir, becauſe I have heard wiſe men in parliament ſay, that you ought not to complicate queſtions, but direct your enquiry to a ſingle point; as in a complicated queſtion, part might be true, and part might be falſe.

I do this, becauſe, tho' not quite ſo apt a ſcholar as I ought to be, I am not quite inſenſible to the precepts of wiſe men in parliament, eſpecially at the moment I am ſmarting under the correction of the houſe.

In the debate on this queſtion;—Sir Hercules Langriſhe ſaid, if he had held any doubt of one fundamental point of the Chriſtian faith—to wit, the Reſurrection of the Spirits—the preſent queſtion would certainly convince him. He thought the ſubject had been dead and buried long ſince; but ſince its ſpirit has now riſen, he would beg leave to ſpeak to it. He conſidered the preſent motion as part and parcel of the ſubject, which had been ſo fully and repeatedly canvaſſed at the concluſion of the laſt parliament; and the beſt mode of putting the houſe in poſſeſſion of every argument on the ſubject, would be to move, that the Freeman's Journal and Evening poſt of the laſt winter be laid upon the table for peruſal of the members. He defended the encreaſe of public officers, and was certain the reports of the laſt year, which were laid on the table, would fully juſtify his aſſertion. The revenue had encreaſed in the laſt year 38,000l. and the expence of collecting had decreaſed 12,000l. He therefore thought that a net gain of 50,000l. was no mark of imprudence in management. He admitted, that certainly the influence of offices had ſometimes weight with men's votes in parliament; yet he denied that in any vote eſſential to the conſtitutional intereſt of this country, the parliament had ever deſerted her. Gentlemen complained of the great expenſes of government, and all was charged to the creation of unneceſſary offices; there were other new offices created, of which gentlemen had taken no notice—they were offices of

Lime

Lime and *Stone*. The new offices of that houſe, in thoſe enormous new wings, on which ſo much of the public money had taken flight, had very conſiderably ſwelled the public expenſe; but he hoped this was not to be charged to the extravagance of adminiſtration. It might be neceſſary to erect *cloud capt towers, gorgeous palaces,* and even *ſolemn temples,* but he was ſure it was neither preſumptuous, nor pious, nor juſt to charge adminiſtration with exceſs on that account.

Mr. Forbes ſaid, the argument offered on the other ſide is, that theſe offices ſhould not be aboliſhed, becauſe they have not done the miſchief which was predicted they would do, they have not ſtrengthened the hand of government to beat down all oppoſition in Parliament. Do gentlemen who make this aſſertion forget, that in 1789, a penſion-bill paſſed this houſe? and do they forget, that the next year it was oppoſed by the very men who ſupported it in 1789? Do they forget this—and if they do not, will they ſay, that the places which were beſtowed upon the members of this houſe, in the interval between the two ſeſſions, had no influence in altering their opinions?

It is ſaid, Sir, that theſe offices, and this augmentation of ſalaries is neceſſary; to enquire whether they be neceſſary or not, is the object of the reſolution—if they be neceſſary, why ſhould gentlemen fear to have them examined?

Sir, there is upon your journals a ſolemn deciſion, that ſeven commiſſioners are ſufficient: Would it not then have been decent to have laid before the houſe, the reaſons which induced the Lord Lieutenant to increaſe the number, and to have taken the ſenſe of parliament thereon? But this, like all meaſures of corruption, was carried on in ſecret. The mark of an honeſt meaſure is its open and undiſguiſed publicity: but this was carried on in diſguiſe, and promulgated in words of ambiguity.

Great

Great credit has been taken by the friends of Lord Buckingham, for his conduct relative to the ordnance, for his addreſs in detecting frauds, and his wiſdom in applying remedies; but how have the public benefited? Did he reſtore the money recovered to the public? No; he ſtopped it in its tranſit to the Exchequer, and what he reſcued from peculation, he applied to the purpoſes of corruption.

Mr. Corry ſaid, it might appear extraordinary if he did not riſe to give an anſwer to ſome part of what had fallen from the Hon. Gentleman. The gentleman had indeed admitted, he was not perſonally concerned; yet, as the part he bore in the tranſaction, and the office he had held in the ordnance might be ſuppoſed to affect his judgment, he could not be ſilent.

The Hon. Gentleman had ſaid, that the penſion bill had been rejected after the creation of the new places, by all the gentlemen on whom they were beſtowed, and who had ſupported that bill before.

Mr. Forbes.—I did not ſay every man; but I ſay, many, and that government acquired additional ſtrength by the creation of offices.

Mr. Corry.—I ſtand up equally to deny both his fact and his principle. I had the honour to ſupport that bill before I held an office; I have had the honour to ſupport it ſince, and ever will ſupport it. What then becomes of the gentleman's argument? He muſt either give up his fact or his principle—I think they are both untenable. As to the office of commiſſioner, the gentleman knows well it was not created for me; that if I choſe I might long ago have had it, but that I refuſed it, and I would rather have remained at the ordnance.

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As to the ordnance, it would indeed be a baſe deſertion of Lord Buckingham, now that his back is turned, were I not to defend his conduct here. The gentleman ſays, that money, recovered from peculation, was ſtopped in its tranſit to the Exchequer, and applied to the purpoſes of corruption. Does the gentleman mean literally what he ſays? If he does, he betrays an ignorance that I am ſorry ſhould appear in this Aſſembly. Sir, there was no money ſtopped in its tranſit; the cataſtrophe of the unfortunate perſon who had been guilty of the peculation, prevented the money from being recovered.

It was the intention of Lord Buckingham to put the ordnance office in the hands of gentlemen of propriety and character, that the nation might at all times be ſecure of having an efficient ordnance, and that there might be no further apprehenſion of peculation: This obliged him to raiſe the ſalaries which before were certainly too low, and gave a pretence for receiving perquiſites, which became the cover for frauds. Sir, the late Surveyor General threatened government that, if he was not adequately paid, he would leave the kingdom; and they were obliged to give him the place of a commiſſioner at the barrack board, as a ſinecure, to make good the deficiency of ſalary at the ordnance.

Lord Buckingham, who was reſolved to put the office on a proper footing, and reſtore it to vigour, found that in fourteen years, (for the books before that period were not to be found) a ſum of no leſs than 70,000l. in three articles only, had been embezzled from the public; and had it been poſſible to recover the books of the office before the period mentioned, or to detect a number of frauds under the deſcription of perquiſites, I doubt not that a much greater peculation would be diſcovered. After this, will any man ſay, that Lord Buckingham does not deſerve the higheſt applauſe

plauſe for reſcuing the office out of the hands in which it was, and placing it under the direction of men of character.

Sir, I do not forget what paſſed upon this queſtion laſt year, when gentlemen on the other ſide were earneſtly requeſted to enter into an enquiry, which they declined. I do not forget that they were then forward to hazard the ſame kind of expreſſions which they have uſed this day, and which met with the ſame refutation. Neither do I forget the high and boaſtful terms in which they then vaunted themſelves, "That they poſſeſſed excluſively the confidence of the nation, that the people had no confidence in miniſters." I remember, you muſt all remember, how their voice reverberated from thoſe walls—you muſt all remember them calling on the people, and ſending through all the prints invitations to them to ſhew their confidence by ſome manifeſtation. I aſk you now, from what part of the country has their voice re-echoed? By what public act have the people manifeſted their confidence in thoſe gentlemen? I remember their words in the laſt year "You are going now to be refunded into the common maſs of the people who ſent you here, and they will judge whether you have been vigilant in attending to their intereſt, or whether, like unfaithful guards, you have ſlept upon your poſt." We have been refunded back to the people; and what have the people done, and how are we to judge of their opinions? the great and populous counties have returned the perſons who adminiſter the principal departments of the ſtate: who will ſay, that the confidence of the people is not with the government? For one in an humble ſtation, I have the happineſs to feel the opinion of a great and reſpectable trading town moſt decidedly in my favour. I can therefore never ſubmit to hear gentlemen vaunt in high terms, that they alone poſſeſs the confidence of the nation.

Mr.

Mr. Ponſonby concluded the debate with the following ſpeech.—"On the firſt motion I had the honour to propoſe, the gentlemen on the other ſide obſerved a ſilence ſo profound, as to preclude debate. On this latter, though not quite ſo ſilent, yet by the motion of adjournment which the Hon. Gentleman has made, it is obvious they deſign on this alſo, if poſſible, to avoid a diſcuſſion of the meaſures they defend—and were it not for the uncommon energy of my Right Hon. Friend, they would have been as ſilent as if they had ſeen a ghoſt indeed.

What has been urged in oppoſition to this motion, Sir, it will not require much time to anſwer—I ſhall therefore briefly anſwer the different objections that have been made to it, and firſt, Sir, a Right Hon. Gentleman has told you, that it is idle to object to the creation of thoſe offices, becauſe no man could be influenced by any office to concur in any meaſure *eſſentially* injurious to the conſtitution. It is well, Sir, the Right Hon. Gentleman has qualified his aſſertion. But Sir, it would be right in the Right Hon. Gentleman to define what he means by this qualifying word *eſſential*, or is every man left to explain it as he pleaſes? If ſo, he may oppoſe a good meaſure, becauſe the loſs of it may not be *eſſentially* injurious to the country—and he may ſupport a bad meaſure, and ſay it is not *eſſentially* hurtful.

The right Hon. Gentleman is ſurpriſed too, to hear thoſe queſtions again brought forward, which were agitated in the laſt ſeſſion. There are upwards of eighty members in this Parliament, Sir, who were not in the laſt. Now, Sir, I ſhould ſuppoſe that every one of thoſe gentlemen, if they do not pin their faith to the ſleeve of the late parliament, would be glad to hear the arguments on which thoſe deciſions of that parliament were founded. But, Sir, I will encreaſe the ſurpriſe and aſtoniſhment of the Right Hon. Gentleman—I will inform him that he ſhall not only hear

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this queſtion agitated again and again, but he ſhall hear every queſtion, which during the laſt ſeſſion, was brought forward by me, or the Right Hon. Gentleman with whom I act, with whom I have ever acted, and with whom I ever ſhall act—they concern meaſures on which I have ſet my heart, and which I ſhall never relinquiſh but with life.

I have heard men in oppoſition, Sir, very clamorous againſt places—I have heard men profeſs much public ſpirit, when actuated only by principles of private intereſt—and I have ſeen thoſe very men, Sir, accept of places, who were moſt clamorous againſt them—and accept places not in the moſt honourable circumſtances. I have thus, Sir, ſeen hypocriſy ſtript of its garb, and expoſed to public contempt, in its native deformity.—The gentlemen with whom I have now the honour to act, are, I hope, incapable of ſuch dereliction of every honourable principle; I hope they are alſo united, and will never relinquiſh the purſuit of thoſe great meaſures they have adopted, till they are finally attained.

It has been aſſerted, Sir, that if the influence of Adminiſtration has encreaſed, ſo has alſo the ſpirit, the influence, and the intelligence of the people. Where is the proof of this? Does the Hon. Gentleman mean to prove the encreaſed ſpirit of the people, by their expreſſions and their conduct in thoſe aſſemblies, which on other occaſions he denominates idle tumults, ſeditious cabals, or deluded meetings. If he does, Sir, he is inconſiſtent with himſelf;—if he does not, where elſe will he direct us to look for their encreaſed wiſdom or ſpirit?

Another Hon. Gentleman has aſked, ſhall all expences of building, &c. be charged to the account of Government? Sir, we do not charge expence of this kind, as the expence of corruption; but if in this inſtance, or any other, the pub-

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lic money is improperly applied, it is certainly Adminſtration alone who are chargeable with it. We, Sir, have not the command of the public money—they are the men who diſpoſe the treaſure of the nation, they therefore are the men who are reſponſible for every item of expenditure, whether it be for gorgeous palaces, for cloud capt towers, or thoſe enormous wings on which ſo much of the public wealth is ſaid to have taken its flight.

An Hon. Member has ſaid, that he would rather not have accepted the office he holds—perhaps ſo—the Hon. Gentleman muſt then have thought that there was ſomething peculiarly diſgraceful in the creation of that office.

The ſame Hon. Member has ſaid that *this* Adminiſtration is not chargeable with the creation of thoſe offices—No! but they are chargeable with the continuation of them—they are yet too young for ſuch flagrant offences—no doubt, their maturer age will emulate the daring of their predeceſſor.

The Hon. Member has talked of ſlippant and of confident aſſertion. I ſay, Sir, that no aſſertion was made which the event has not verified. It was aſſerted that the confidence of the people was with us. Has not the iſſue of the general election, to which the Hon. Member appeals, proved it ſo? —Look to the numerous, the honourable, majority by which a Right Hon. Gentleman near me, has been returned for your metropolis, in oppoſition to all the wiles and all the influence, and all the threats of Adminiſtration. Where ſhall we look for an inſtance more ſtriking—a proof more ſtrong of unbounded confidence?

But look, ſays the Hon. Member, to the Treaſury-Bench —ſee the Financier returned to you by the people—ſee the firſt Commiſſioner of the Revenue returned to you by the people

people and ſee, ſays the Hon. Member, the encreaſe which the Treaſury-bench has received of another gentleman in office, returned by the people.—Good God, Sir, has the Hon. Gentleman forgot in a few ſhort months that one part of the ſyſtem which we are bound to oppoſe is the power of Revenue-officers to return to this Houſe the men to whom their ſituation neceſſarily ſubjects them? The return then of a firſt Commiſſioner is, to be ſure, a convincing argument that the Adminiſtration of this country are in full poſſeſſion of the confidence of the public. And the return of the Chancellor of the Exchequer—a man whoſe office gives him no influence at all—is, no doubt, an unanſwerable argument that influence of office has no operation in this country, and that conſequently the encreaſe of offices cannot be an evil.

The young Members who had not the very great happineſs of hearing the many and moſt excellent arguments which were argued by the gentlemen on the other ſide of the houſe in defence of thoſe offices during the laſt ſeſſion—have not, I think, much reaſon to regret that circumſtance, hearing as they do the no leſs able reaſoning of the ſame gentlemen in their favour to-night.

I will ſtate for them, Sir, the ſum of that reaſoning. In the year 1789 a Viceroy of this country being rather in an embarraſſed ſituation—having been cenſured by this houſe—which cenſure is yet to be ſeen upon your journals—deviſed a very ingenious way to extricate himſelf, and if not to reconcile to him this houſe and the public, at leaſt to raiſe himſelf above its anger—it was the creation of 14 PLACES, all of which he beſtowed upon members of Parliament; by this ſtep, though to be ſure places, &c. can have no influence on the minds of Gentlemen who ſit within theſe walls, yet it ſome how or other happened, by this ſtep, I ſay, that he effected a change in his favour. Still the meaſure is cenſured as tending to procure a corrupt ſupport—the defence

now

now ſet up for them is—that we have not ſhewed them to be *uſeleſs*. Good God, Sir, ought not *they* to ſhew that they are *uſeful*?

But, ſays the Hon. Gentleman, I will give gentlemen ground to argue againſt this motion, by relating the utility of the charges in the ordnance. For me, Sir, I would moſt ſcrupulouſly avoid mentioning the Marquis of Buckingham; but I muſt ſay, that whatever may be the merit of his arrangements, his adminiſtration was peculiarly happy in finding out the ſingular ability of gentlemen in the Houſe of Commons. I ſhall not impeach the ability or the virtue of thoſe gentlemen, but I think it would be prudent not to lay too much weight on arguments founded thereon. The doctrine itſelf, however true it may be, muſt be unpleaſant to the nation at large, ſince it inſinuates that, of all the individuals it contains, there are only about 30 that are at all capable of diſcharging the duties of a common office. As to the ſtatement of the ſaving, &c. in the ordnance, which the Hon. Gentleman has ſaid was effected by the Marquis's regulations, I ſhall only ſay, that whatever ſavings may have taken place, they are inviſible ones—for the expenſe of that department continues as great as ever it was.

By the queſtion of adjournment which you have now before you, Sir, I plainly ſee that it is the intention of adminiſtration to reſt not on argument or reaſoning for a defence of theſe meaſures, but on what the corruption and influence we war againſt has procured them—namely *dead Majorities*. Yet, Sir, this ſhall not deter us. Whether this be their plan, or not, we ſhall certainly bring forward in the courſe of the ſeſſion every one of thoſe meaſures which were agitated laſt ſeſſion, though without effect.

The queſtion of adjournment being put, there appeared,

Ayes — 139 | Noes — 72

Tellers for the Ayes,—Mr. Stanley and Mr. Moore.

For the Noes, —Mr. Ponſonby, and Mr. Forbes.

On

On the 8th of February Mr. Grattan addreſſed the houſe, on the ſubject of Peerage;——He ſaid, "That when the Right Hon. Gentleman in the ſervice of Government was laſt ſeſſion aſked what redreſs of grievences was intended? he anſwered with a *blank*; but he added, as a compenſation for the abſence of all good to be demanded of the preſent Government, that at leaſt they would govern according to the law of the land. It is with much regret I am now obliged to inform that Right Hon. Gentleman that the Government for whom he made that engagement has not governed according to the law of the land, but has in divers inſtances violated that law.

I propoſe three queſtions for the Right Hon. Gentleman's conſideration; Firſt, Is not the ſale of peerages illegal?—Second, Is it not a high miſdemeanor and impeachable offence?—Third, whether a contract to purchaſe ſeats for perſons named by the Miniſters of the crown, with the money ariſing from the ſale of the peerage, is not in itſelf an illegal and impeachable tranſaction, and a great aggravation of the other miſdemeanors?

I wait for anſwer. Does the Right Hon. Gentleman continue in his ſeat? Then he admits theſe tranſactions to be great and flagrant breaches of the law. No lawyer I find ſo old and hardy—ſo young and deſperate—as to deny it. Thus it appears that the Adminiſtration of this country, by the acknowledgement of their own lawyers, have in a high decree broken the laws of the land. I will now diſcuſs the nature of tranſactions admitted to be illegal, I know the prerogative of conferring honours has been held a frugal way ofrewarding merit; but I dwell not on the loſs of any collateral advantages by the abuſe of that prerogative, but on the loſs of the affence of the power itſelf, no longer a means of exalting, and now become an inſtrument of diſgrace. I will expoſtulate

late with his Excellency on this ſubject.—I will bring him to an eminence, from whence he may ſurvey the people of this iſland. Is there, my Lord, a man of all who paſs under your eye, one man whom you can exalt by any title you may think to confer? You may create a confuſion in names, or you may caſt a veil over families, but Honour, that ſacred gem, you have caſt in the dirt. I do not aſk you merely whether there is any man in the iſland whom you can raiſe, but I aſk you is there any man whom you would not diſgrace, by attempting to give him title, except ſuch a man as would exalt you *by the acceptance*—ſome man whoſe hereditary or perſonal pretenſions would reſcue his name and dignity from the apparent blemiſh and ridicule caſt on him by a grant from thoſe hands to whom his Majeſty has moſt unfortunately abandoned in Ireland the reins of government?

The miſchief does not go merely to the credit, but may affect the exiſtence of the nobility.

Our miniſtry, no doubt, condemn the National Aſſembly, in extinguiſhing the nobility of the country, and I dare ſay they will talk very ſcrupulouſly and plauſibly on that ſubject; they certainly have not extinguiſhed the nobility of Ireland, but they have (as far they could) attempted to diſgrace them, and by ſo doing have attempted to lay the ſeeds of their extinction. The Iriſh Miniſtry have acted with more apparent moderation; but the French democracy have acted with more apparent conſiſtency. The French democracy have at one blow ſtruck from the nobility power, perquiſite and rank. The Iriſh Miniſtry have attempted to ſtrike off honours and authority, and propoſe to leave them their powers and their *privileges*. The *Iriſh Miniſter*, after attempting to *render* their honours as ſaleable as the ſeats of juſtice were in France at the moſt unregenerated period of her monarchy—propoſe to ſend them abroad to exact deference from the people as

hereditary legiſlators, hereditary counſellors to the King, and hereditary judges of the land; and if hereafter any attempt ſhould be made on our order of Peerage—look to your Miniſtry, they are the cauſe—THEY—THEY—THEY WHO HAVE attempted without ſucceſs, but with matchleſs perſeverance, to make the peerage miſchievous, and therefore are guilty of an eventual attempt to declare it uſeleſs.

Such a Miniſter is but a pioneer to the leveller—he compoſes a part of his army and marches in the van, and demoliſhes all the moral, conſtitutional, and political obſtructions of principle, and purity, and all the moral cauſes that would ſupport authority, rank and ſubordination.

Such a miniſter goes before the leveller, like Sin preceding the ſhadow of Death, ſhedding her poiſons and diſtilling her influence, and preparing the nectar ſhe touches for mortality. I don't ſay that ſuch a Miniſter with his own hands ſtrips the foliage off the tree of nobility —No—he is the early blight that comes to the iſland to wither your honours, in the firſt blaſt of popular breath to ſcatter, ſo that at laſt the whole leafage of nobility may deſcend.

This Miniſter, he does not come to the foundation of the Houſe of Lords with his pick-ax, nor does he ſtore all their vaults with trains of gun powder.

He is an enemy of a different ſort—he does not purpoſe to *blow up* the Houſes of Parliament—he only endeavours to corrupt the inſtitutions, and he only undermines the moral props of opinion and authority, he only endeavours to taint nobility—he ſells your Lords and he buys your commons. The tree of nobility that it may flouriſh for ever, and ſtand the blight of Miniſters and the blaſt of popular fury—that it my remain on its hill rejoicing, and laugh to ſcorn that enemy, which in the perſon of the miniſtry of the Crown, has gone

gone againſt the nobles of the land. That they may ſurvive—ſurvive to give council to thoſe very Miniſters, and perhaps, *to pronounce judgment upon them*—but if ever the ax ſhould go into that foreſt—if on the track of the merchant man, in the ſhape of the miniſter, the political woodman, in the ſhape of the leveller, ſhould follow—if the ſale of peerage as exerciſed by the preſent Miniſter, becoming the ordinary reſource of Government, ſhould provoke a kindred extreme, and give birth to a race of men as unprincipled and deſperate in one extreme as they are in the other, we ſhall then feel it our duty to reſiſt ſuch an effort, and as we now reſiſt the Miniſter's attempts to diſhonour, ſo ſhall we then reſiſt the conſequence of his crimes—projects to extinguiſh the nobility.

In the mean time to prevent ſuch a cataſtrophe, it is neceſſary to deſtroy ſuch a practice, and therefore neceſſary to puniſh, or remove, or intimidate and check your Miniſters.

I would not be underſtood to ſpeak now of a figurative ſale of honours—I am ſpeaking of an actual one in the moſt literal ſenſe of the word. I know the grants of honours have been at certain times made for influence, diſtinct from pretenſions—but not the argent comptant, the ſtock purſe, it is not title for influence, but title for money to buy influence. You have carried it to the laſt ſtep, and in that ſtep have gone beyond the moſt unſcrupulous of your predeceſſors; they may have abuſed the prerogative, but you have broken the laws. Your contract has been what a court of law would condemn for its illegality, and a court of equity for its turpitude.

The Miniſters have endevoured to defile the ſource of honour, they have alſo attempted to pollute the ſtream of juſtice. The ſale of a peerage is the ſale of a judicial employment which cannot be ſold without breach of an expreſs act of Parliament, the act of R. II. and Edw. VI.

I know

I know the judicial power is *only* incidental to peerage, but the ſale is not the leſs againſt the ſpirit of the act; indeed it is the greateſt poſſible offence againſt the ſpirit of the act, inaſmuch as the judicial power in this caſe is final, and comprehends all the judgments and decrees in all the courts of law and equity

If I am injured in an inferior Court, I can bear it, it is not without remedy. But there, where every thing is to be finally corrected—where the public is to be protected and reſcued from the vindictive ignorance of a Judge, or the little driving, arbitrary genius of a Miniſter—the laſt oracle of all the laws, *and* the *firſt* foundation *of* council, and one great conſtituent of the legiſlature, to attempt to make that great repoſitory a market, to erect at the door of the Houſe of Lords the ſtall of the miniſter, where he and his friends ſhould exerciſe their calling, and carry ſuch an illicit and ſhocking trade. That a Miniſter ſhould have caſt out of his heart all reſpect for human inſtitutions, ſo far as to attempt to poſt himſelf at the door of that chamber—the moſt illuſtrious, ſelect, and ancient of all inſtitutions we know of—to poſt himſelf there with his open palm, and to admit all who would pay for ſeats.

Is this the man who is to teach the Iriſh a reſpect for the laws, and to inculcate the bleſſings, of the Britiſh conſtitution?

Hiſtory is not wanting in inſtances of groſs abuſes of the prerogative in the diſpoſal of the Peerage, the worſt miniſters perhaps have attempted, but I will aſſert, the whole Hiſtory of England does not furniſh ſo groſs and illegal an exerciſe as any one of thoſe bargains contracted for by the Miniſter of Ireland—in the reign of Queen Anne there was, by the tories of the times, a great abuſe of that power—twelve Peers

Peers created for an occaſion. In ſome particulars there was a ſimilitude between that and the preſent act—it was an attempt to model the houſe of Lords—but there was no money given—the turpitude of our tranſaction was wanting in the act of the Miniſtry of Queen Anne, it was an act of influence purporting to model one houſe of parliament, but it was not the ſale of the ſeats of one houſe to buy thoſe of the other, and model both.

The ſecond inſtance is the ſale of a Peerage by the Duke of Buckingham in the reign of Charles the firſt, it was one of the articles of his impeachment, a Peerage ſold to Lord Roberts for 10,000l. it was a high miſdemeanor, a flagrant illegality, and a great public ſcandal, ſo far it reſembles your conduct, but it was no more—the offence was confined to a ſingle inſtance, the Duke of Buckingham created one Peer of the Realm, one Hereditary Legiſlator, one Hereditary Counſellor, and one final Judiciary for a ſpecific ſum of money for his private uſe—but the Iriſh Miniſter has created divers Hereditary Legiſlators, divers Hereditary Counſellors, and divers final Judiciaries for many ſpecific ſums of money—the Duke of Buckingham only took the money for a ſeat in the Peers, and applied it to his own uſe—but the Iriſh Miniſter has taken money for ſeats in the Peers under contract that it ſhould be applied to purchaſe ſeats in the Commons—the one is an inſulated crime for private emolument, the other a project againſt the common weal in this act.

The Miniſters have ſold the prerogatives of the Crown to buy the privileges of the people—they have made the conſtituent part of the legiſlature pernicious to each other—they have played the two houſes like forts upon one another—they have diſcovered a new mode of deſtroying that fine fabric, the Britiſh Conſtitution, which eſcaped the deſtructive penetration of the worſt of their predeceſſors, and the fruit of their ſucceſs in this moſt unhallowed, wicked endeavour

vour would be the ſcandal of legiſlation, which is the common right of both houſes; of juriſdiction, which is the peculiar privilege of one; and adding the diſcredit which, by ſuch offences, they bring on the third branch of the Conſtitution, unfortunately exerciſed in their own perſons, they have attempted to reduce the whole progreſs of government in this country, from the firſt formation of law to the final deciſion and ultimate execution—from the cradle of the law through all its progreſs and formation to its laſt ſhape of monumental record: they have attempted to reduce it, I ſay, to diſrepute and degradation.

Are theſe things to go unpuniſhed—are they to paſs by with the ſeſſion, like the faſhion of your coat, or any idle ſubject of taſte or amuſement?

Is any ſtate-criminal to be puniſhed in Ireland?—Is there ſuch a thing as a ſtate-offence in Ireland?—If not, renounce the name of inqueſt, if—aye—puniſh———He concluded by moving,

"Reſolved, that a ſelect committee be appointed to enquire in the moſt ſolemn manner, whether the late or preſent adminiſtration have entered into any corrupt agreement with any perſon or perſons, to recommend ſuch perſon or perſons to his Majeſty, for the purpoſe of being created Peers of this kingdom, in conſideration of their paying certain ſums of money, to be laid out in the purchaſe of ſeats for members to ſerve in parliament, contrary to the rights of the people, inconſiſtent with the independence of parliament, and in direct violation of the fundamental laws of the land."

Mr. Curran ſeconded the motion.

The Attorney General.—I think it neceſſary to riſe, as the Right Hon. Gentleman has thought proper to allude to what

what fell from me in the laſt parliament. The Right Hon. Gentleman has informed you, that I then ſaid the government was determined to rule the nation according to the laws of the land; he did then, as he now does, treat the declaration with ſome diſtruſt; nevertheleſs I am bold to declare that the promiſe has been performed, though the Right Hon. Gentleman has aſſerted that they have *not* governed by law; for, ſays he, they have violated the law by the ſale of peerages; and then he has very emphatically called upon all the lawyers, and has aſked whether there are any ſo old and hardened, or ſo young and deſperate, as to deny,

That the ſale of peerages is illegal?
That the ſale of peerages is an impeachable offence?

And that it is highly impeachable, and highly puniſhable to ſell Peerages and employ the money to purchaſe ſeats in this houſe? Sir, the Right Hon. Gentleman will excuſe me, if I think that ſo much pomp and ſo much form, was not neceſſary in aſking theſe queſtions; for there is no lawyer, nor no man, young or old, who will not ſay, that if ſuch things were done, they were both illegal and puniſhable. This is my opinion, and if this will ſtrengthen his argument, he has my anſwer.

The Right Hon. Gentleman, not being interrupted by reply while ſpeaking, has aſſumed, that the charges which he has made againſt Miniſters were admitted; and he has proceeded to treat them as libellers and atrocious offenders; but the Right Hon, Gentleman muſt excuſe me if I ſay that his reſolution is little leſs than a libel on the three eſtates of parliament. He ſays that the King's Miniſters have ſold the Peerage for money to purchaſe ſeats in this houſe; and we are, upon this bare aſſertion, to proceed to a ſolemn enquiry. Suppoſe I was to ſay that my Right Hon. Friend,

the

the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had robbed the Treaſury, how would every man's feelings revolt at the aſſertion? Such a charge might injure me who made it, but it could not affect him. On the ſame ground I truſt the Houſe will not, upon mere ſuggeſtion, entertain a queſtion tending only to throw an odium on an adminiſtration that governs with perfect propriety, and to diſturb the minds of the people, who under this government enjoy every bleſſing of peace and proſperity.

In the laſt parliament this meaſure was propoſed, and the ground on which it was ſupported was *common fame*—a foundation on which the pooreſt man in the land could not be charged. You were laſt year deſired to adopt this ſlanderous charge on the authority of common fame; and now the ſame motion is repeated, though the Right Hon. Gentleman has not condeſcended to offer any proof; nay, he has not even told you where he heard the calumny—perhaps it was in ſome ſcandalous evening paper.

But, Sir, why confine this enquiry to the preſent or late adminiſtration, more than to any former? Is the Gentleman aware, that ſomething might come out which he would not wiſh to appear? Did any man in former times barter his intereſt in any borough for a peerage? If he did, did he not incur all the guilt charged by the Right Hon. Gentleman.?

Mr. Barrington, in a maiden ſpeech, reprobated the reſolution, as being equally ungracious to the crown, and degrading to parliament. He ſaid, it was a reſolution founded alone on the glowing imagination and brilliant language of its mover, or the private views and public ſpeculation of its ſupporters, a flimſy fabric, built upon aſſertion, without facts to ſupport its baſe, or reaſon to ſupport its ſuperſtructure. He ſaid, the introduction of this queſtion, was, in itſelf, derogatory of the dignity of the Houſe; and that its adoption

adoption would ſtain their journals with the moſt wanton, unproved, unparliamentary charge of guilt on one houſe, and pollution on the other; a charge which would be a laſting record of their diſhonour, when the committee would determine that the charge was groundleſs—that the enquiry was vain—that the meaſure was malicious: it is true, though no puniſhment could be inflicted, no impeachment could take place, but the purity of parliament would be no more—the pride, the honour of the conſtitution, would fade away under the blaſt of ſuſpicion; the enquiry would end, but the record would remain, the lateſt poſterity would ſigh for the vices of their fathers; and would revert with horror from the black page of their journals, which would tell the world, that the parliament of Ireland *could be ſuſpected* of being the baſeſt of the people, and could be weak enough to record it! If gentlemen had grounds, had proofs, had facts to ſupport the charge—move for an impeachment on the guilty head, and let it fall to the manes of the injured conſtitution; but never, by a wild unſupported reſolution, ſink a ſtain they could never eraſe. He then, with energy, reprobated oppoſition and their views: he ſaid, it was ſpeculation, not public virtue, which inſtigated a violent oppoſition to the meaſures and the peace of government. That the ſenſe of public duty, and the fire of public virtue, did not reſide at one ſide only of the houſe, or the other ſide of the houſe, only; that it was not to be erected by ſpeculation, or depreſſed by office; it was an inherent principle in the mind of man, and he believed was not bound to party; for he had ſeen the Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Grattan) on both ſides. He denied the neceſſity of a penſion or a place-bill; and ſaid, he truſted, the Hon. Gentleman would not find them ſo noxious in a future adminiſtration as in the preſent.

He then entered into a defence of the Marquis of Buckingham's and Lord Weſtmoreland's adminiſtrations; and reprobated the idea that any error of the former ſhould tarniſh the

the honour of his ſucceſſor; but gentlemen had miſtaken licentiouſneſs for liberty, and were proceeding in meaſures which could only tend to indulge their airy caſtles, aggrandiſe their honours, embarraſs the public time, and inflame the people.

He dwelt on the ſickleneſs of the reſolution: the unparliamentary mode of propoſing it: the dangerous and diſgraceful tendencies; and concluded by ſtamping his negative on a meaſure, which, from its weakneſs, its uncertainty, and its informality, ſhould periſh at the moment of its birth.

Mr. Sheridan ſaid, if his Right Hon. Friend (Mr. Grattan) apologized for ſpeaking at ſo late an hour, what ſhould he ſay;—he felt himſelf impelled by his duty to the public;—for though he did not, perhaps, repreſent many, he repreſented *one*, whom all Ireland would elect; and therefore he conſidered himſelf more than in common acceptation, a repreſentative of the people.—A learned Gentleman (the Attorney General) had ſaid, produce your proofs, before you commence enquiry.—Would the Right Hon. Gentleman, in a proſecution at the ſuit of the Crown, publiſh *his* proofs before enquiry, and diſcloſe the evidence?—He would not. The learned Gentleman knew his duty too well. If there was any thing like the pride of parliament in this country, the ſubject now before them ſhould call it forth. If the Houſe of Commons, *the grand Inqueſt* of the nation, had ever reaſon to inſtitute enquiry, in order to *impeach*, we have it now. If it is aſked, impeach whom? We anſwer, the Governor *who contracted*, and the Governor who carried that *contract* into execution. If it is required, for what? We anſwer, for *ſelling* the Honours of the Nation, and in that *ſale* vending *the legiſlative powers of the realm*. He did not complain of the *partial* exerciſe of the royal prerogative. Miniſters may, for inſtance, raiſe two Chief Judges to the Peerage, and they may overlook a third, though he be

be chief among the chiefs. Miniſters may confer peerages upon members of parliament, not to reward their ſervices, but their ſufferings;—their loſs of character in the dereliction of public principle;—to ſooth them for the melancholy mechaniſm of years paſſed in this houſe, without ſenſe or volition, the men loſt in the machines.—Miniſters may confer peerages on men barely unblameable, and introduce them into the houſe of Peers, in as eaſy a way as in the reign of Queen Anne. Miniſters *may*, as they have done, raiſe men to the Peerage, who never did the ſtate any ſervice, civil or military; men very amiable in *private* life, but whoſe virtues were ſo very domeſtic, ſo much at home, that they poſſeſſed, what among the Roman Ladies was deemed the higheſt honour, that of not being publicly *known or talked of*. All this he admitted Miniſters *might* do; though he ſpoke from great authority, when he ſaid, the ſole power of conferring honours was veſted in the Crown, upon the ſpecial *confidence*, that they ſhould be conferred only upon thoſe who *deſerved* them; and if there was nothing more in being a lord, than the advantage of diſtinction and ceremony, the bauble mind might be gratified; the injury would be leſs, if the real and illuſtrious nobility of the realm could *unpeer* themſelves—if they could reſign the leſſened diſtinction, the degraded honour, like the government of a country, as in a late caſe, that of a nobleman, whoſe private virtues certified his public character; a Nobleman who had attained the ſummit of popularity, without making one unworthy ſacrifice;—a Nobleman, who having no competitor in character, required no aſſociate in power; a Nobleman, who on any great emergency, could effect more in this country than the whole power of Government, ſuch as it is; a Nobleman who on a great emergency, *preſerved the conſtitution, the church and the ſtate*.—Did he, when he commanded the hearts and hands of an armed community, did he "*ride in the whirlwind, and direct the ſtorm?* No—HE CALMED IT.—Mr. Sheridan proceeded—The degradation of the

the Houſe of Peers muſt, in its effect, deſtroy the grand reſource of the conſtitution, the great aſylum of the king and the people. What were the nobility? They were legiſlators, judges, and counſellors, of the crown.—Strange, that ſpecial care ſhould be taken to prevent an occaſional conformiſt from being a conſtable; an occaſional freeholder from voting at an election, and no preſervation againſt an *occaſional Lord* being a judge, a Legiſlator, and hereditary Counſellor of his Prince.—Men were made Peers, whoſe chief celebrity aroſe from the *queſtionable* circumſtances attending their patents of Peerage.—Formerly Kings gave reaſons in their patents—ſuch as, great actions, long and faithful ſervices to the common wealth, hereditary worth, but if the pen of truth engroſſed the patents in queſtion, how muſt they run—for and in conſideration of 4000 guineas,—for and in conſideration of two automatons ſold and delivered, with ſtrings and wires, into the hands of the miniſter.—Or whereas, A. B. having voice and motion, did deliver up both to be governed by us for a certain time, in a certain place; and whereas the ſaid A. B. is tired of being the machine, and is willing and able to provide two other machines; now we taking the premiſes into our moſt ſerious conſideration, and perceiving that we ſhall thereby obtain two for one, do therefore, and ſo forth—Thus the gentleman becomes a right truſtee and well beloved couſin; but the unfortunate men thus *branded* with a coronet, ſhould recollect that in this *purchaſed* relationſhip, they alſo are liable to the charge; they alſo are guilty of an high crime and miſdemeanor We aſſert, that Peerages have been bartered for gold; we deſire the opportunity of proving the aſſertion. We aſſert that ſeats have been given in one Houſe of Parliament in exchange for ſeats in the other, thereby attempting, and in truth effecting, an unconſtitutional influence in both; this we deſire TO PROVE. The fountain of honour is made to play into one *corrupt* channel, with a collateral ſtream *ſupplying* the other. It is a mockery of honours, not raiſing the man to the peerage,

peerage, but levelling the peerage to the man. It is a malignant war carried on by one branch of the legiſlature againſt the other two, depriving, in the ſame ſtroke, one Houſe of confidence, the other of dignity.

Mr. Ponsonby.—I would not have ſpoken, Sir, on this queſtion, indiſpoſed as I am, were not my mind and my feelings ſtrongly agitated by ſome arguments which I have heard advanced by Gentlemen on the other ſide. An hon. member has thought proper to amend the reſolution of my Right Hon. Friend, by inſerting the word *any* in the place of *late and preſent* adminiſtration. I preſume from the manner in which this amendment was propoſed, thoſe gentlemen ſuppoſed we were adverſe to any general enquiry of this kind, and *would* reject it. The fact is not ſo—and I now call on the Hon. Gentleman, and the Hon. and Right Hon. Gentlemen who ſo vociferouſly approved the amendment—I call on them now to ſupport this reſolution, amended as it is to their own wiſh. If they do not, I hope the public will ſee the trick endeavoured to be played on them, and that there is nothing in the contemplation of gentlemen but to get rid of every ſpecies of enquiry.

Another Hon. and learned Gentleman, when an Hon. Friend of mine made a quotation, profeſſed to quote the context of that quotation, but inſtead of doing ſo he has quoted, what is not to be found in any part of that poem my friend alluded to, but in a very bad parody upon that poem—Which was the *Campaign* of Mr. Addiſon—hence the concluſion is pretty obvious, that the Hon. Gentleman's genius is better ſuited to *burleſque* than *heroics*.

Gentlemen have ſaid, Sir, that common fame is no ground for my Right Hon. Friend's motion. I deny it. No man acquainted in the ſmalleſt degree with parliamentary hiſtory will deny that common fame is ground of enquiry, tho' not

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of final deciſion. But if gentlemen are unwilling to riſk their gravity or reputation by inſtituting an inquiry on the ground of common fame, I will ſtate to them what they will conſider ſufficient ground for this enquiry—a Member of this houſe ſtanding up, and he aſſerting he has good reaſon to believe that peerages have been ſold. This, Sir, the Gentlemen will acknowledge to be the ground of enquiry. Now, Sir, I am that man. I ſay I have good reaſon to believe that Peerages have been ſold for money—nay more, I have PROOF. Give me a committee, and if I do not eſtabliſh my charge, degrade me—let me no longer enjoy the character of an honeſt man. I dare you to it—and I riſk my reputation on eſtabliſhing the fact.—But, no; You will not give me the opportunity—you are not afraid of falſhood in me, but of proof againſt yourſelves! Good God, Sir! the peerage of the land expoſed to common auction! And what is the defence? Why the ſame thing has been done before. What then? The reaſoning is abſurd. If a criminal act paſs unnoticed, is the repetition of it—the making it a part of the ſyſtem of government—is that therefore to be juſtified? Why, Sir, the ſingle act might be paſſed over—it is making it the daily operation of Government—the ſyſtem by which they ſubſiſt—that calls for reprobation and puniſhment.

I hear much, Sir, from gentlemen on the other ſide of the confidence of the people—of appeals to new elections.—Gentlemen may talk *fluently*, Sir, on this topic, and they may *make* that appeal with ſecurity when they have taken good care by ſuch means as we are now conſidering to procure a majority of ſeats in this Houſe. Still, Sir, theſe means are not the leſs criminal—means ſuch as never before were made uſe of as they have been in this country—means which tend to raiſe the vices of mankind to the ſeat of virtue—to place the petty fogging attorney, the man who has accumulated property by the moſt culpable and ungentleman-like methods—to make ſuch men the peers of your land—the hereditary Counſellors of the Crown, one of theſe eſtates of your realm!—Good God! are you Gentlemen! do you hope for the honour of

Peerage

Peerage as a reward for your ſervice, or that your poſterity ſhould one day be raiſed to it, and will you bear to ſee the ſeat of honour thus debaſed—thoſe Peerages ſold, and ſold for the worſt of purpoſes, the purchaſes of the houſe of commons?

But we are told this motion will not be agreed to becauſe we do not offer the country a new Conſtitution. What? becauſe we do not propoſe this, are we to be percluded from correcting any abuſes?—But, why ſhould we propoſe this meaſure?—Every thing originating here, is blaſted in the bud—we face the North, let them produce the meaſure—with them it may proſper—but it is the infelicity of that ſoil that in it nothing vegetates but the weeds of rank corruption. I now repeat, that I have proof of this charge againſt Adminiſtration, give me a Committee, and I will produce it. If you were innocent, the propoſition affords you two advantages, the opportunity of fully eſtabliſhing of your innocence, and of proving my falſhood.

Here the queſtion was called for, and on being put, there appeared,

Ayes,	— —	83
Noes,	— —	135
Majority againſt the motion	—	52

Tellers for the Ayes,—Mr. G Ponſonby and Mr. Sheridan
For the Noes, — —M. Beresford and Mr. Barrington.

On the 5th of May 1791—the Lord Lieutenant concluded this ſeſſion with the following ſpeech.

" *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

" His majeſty having directed an augmentation to be made of his naval forces, in order to add weight to his repreſentatives for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace between Ruſſia and the Porte, has commanded me to communicate this

this circumſtance to his parliament of Ireland, on whoſe zealous and affectionate attachment to the intereſts of his Majeſty's crown his Majeſty places the firmeſt reliance.

"The unremitted application you have given to your parliamentary duties enables me now to cloſe the ſeſſion, and to relieve you from any further attendance; and I have the King's directions to expreſs his perfect ſatisfaction in the zeal and diſpatch with which you have brought the public buſineſs to a concluſion.

"*Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,*

"His Majeſty directs me to thank you for the ſupplies which you have granted for the maintenance of the eſtabliſhments and the honourable ſupport of his government; they ſhall be faithfully applied to the purpoſes for which they are granted.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"I have obſerved with peculiar ſatisfaction the attention you have ſhewn to the intereſts of your country, by facilitating the buſineſs of the merchants in the payment of duties, by providing accommodations for the ſhipping and trade of this metropolis, and by extending the operation of national credit. The ſalutary proviſions you have made to check the immoderate uſe of ſpiritous liquors afford the ſtrongeſt proof of your regard for the public welfare. Succeſs in this deſirable meaſure can alone be expected from your continued and well directed efforts; I therefore truſt that in your reſpective counties you will particularly apply yourſelves to give efficacy to the regulations you have adopted on this important ſubject. On my part no endeavours ſhall be wanted to enforce the execution of laws ſo judiciouſly calculated to preſerve the health and amend the morals of the people, and to advance the induſtry and proſperity of Ireland. To theſe objects my exertions are directed by his Majeſty's commands, and by every impulſe of inclination and duty."

CHAP-

CHAP. VIII.

Opening of the ſeſſion in January 1792.—motion for an addreſs to his majeſty.—Mr. Grattan's ſpeech thereupon.—motion for leave to bring in a bill in favour of the Roman Catholics.—Speech of Sir Her. Langriſhe.—leave given.—Heads of the bill as preſented to the houſe—debates thereupon.

WE proceed now to the ſucceeding ſeſſion, which commenced the 19th of January 1792. After the lord Lieutenant's ſpeech which contained nothing remarkable; an addreſs to his majeſty was (as uſual) moved for in the houſe of Commons.—On this occaſion the following ſpeech was made by Mr. Grattan, which we inſert here, becauſe it recapitulates and brings into one point of view moſt of the conteſted ſubjects noticed in the preceding parts of this work.

"I have no objection* (ſaid Mr. Grattan) to concur in every thing honourable to his Majeſty—and ſincerely do rejoice in every circumſtance which can really add to his public and private happineſs.—I am ſure every circumſtance that can tend to increaſe that happineſs, muſt give pleaſure to every branch of his Majeſty's ſubjects, and to none more ſincerely than to his loyal people of Ireland, who muſt ever rejoice in the auſpicious increaſe of the illuſtrious Houſe of Hanover, whoſe acceſſion to the throne of theſe dominions has been attended with ſo many bleſſings to this country, as well

* Parliam. Reg. VOL. XII.

well as every other part of the empire—So far I am ready to concur in this addreſs. In addreſſes of this kind, declarations of our readineſs to ſupport the different eſtabliſhments of government are uſual and perhaps unneceſſary.—But I freely concur in that part of the declaration—and am not only willing to ſupport thoſe eſtabliſhments, but even any new eſtabliſhment which can add to the honour of his majeſty's reign, or the happineſs of his family.—But to that part of the addreſs which goes to declare thanks to his Majeſty, for continuing in the government of this country a Lord Lieutenant and an adminiſtration whoſe meaſures I have found it neceſſary to oppoſe—and who have uniformly oppoſed every meaſure urged for the good of this country—I cannot give my aſſent. It would be equally inconſiſtent and abſurd for men firſt to have found it neceſſary to oppoſe uniformly the meaſures of an adminiſtration, and then to return thanks to his majeſty for continuing that adminiſtration.—To comply therefore in this part of the addreſs with the unanimity the young nobleman recommends, would be to render the compliment of congratnlation to his majeſty—a farce.

Either the oppoſition would appear inſincere, or the addreſs itſelf muſt appear ſo.—But I know better of one ſide, and I hope better of the other, than to imagine ſuch a circumſtance.—The meaſures of oppoſition have not been lightly taken up, nor will they lightly abandon the efforts we have already made. They were adopted in ſincerity of heart, and have been maintained by uniformity of conduct—they were found neceſſary to preſerve againſt corruption the balance of the conſtitution, and they have been ſupported by thoſe moſt intereſted in preſerving that balance.

It is now *ten years* ſince you recovered your conſtitution, and *three* ſince, in the opinion of ſome, you have loſt it.—Your preſent miniſters made two attempts on your liberties the firſt failed, and the ſecond has ſucceeded—you remember

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the firſt—you remember the propoſitions: the people of Ireland would not conſent to be governed by the Britiſh parliament; an expedient was deviſed—let the Iriſh Parliament govern the people of Ireland, and Britain govern the Iriſh parliament. She was to do ſo ſpecifically in thoſe ſubjects in which ſhe has been moſt oppreſſive—monopolies of commerce *eaſt* and *weſt*. We were to put down the Iriſh conſtitution in order to put up Britiſh monopoly againſt Iriſh commerce. The miniſtry who conducted this trick, took care to make the Iriſh advance by a certain number of propoſitions, under an aſſurance that the Britiſh cabinet would to an iota accede, and they made the Iriſh parliament give an additional revenue on the faith of that acceſſion. They then ſuffered the propoſitions to be reverſed—turned them againſt the country from which they were ſuppoſed to proceed, and made them fatal at once to her conſtitution, and to her commerce. The individuals concerned in this buſineſs, ſome of them had pledged themſelves againſt an iota of alteration; they broke their honour. The Iriſh miniſter was pledged to a ſpecific ſyſtem, he prevaricated; in the attempt on her liberty he was a violator—in taking her taxes a *ſwindler*. This meaſure was defeated by the influence principally of that part of the ariſtocracy who refuſed to go through the bill, and *who has been diſmiſſed*. *They* who made the attempt have been advanced and rewarded. The path of public treachery, in a principal country, leads to the block; but in a nation, governed like a province, to the helm.

The ſecond attempt was modelling of the parliament;—in 1789, fifteen new ſalaries, with ſeveral new penſions to the members thereof, were created at once, and added to the old overgrown parliamentary influence of the crown—In other words, the expenditure of the intereſt of half a million to buy the houſe of Commons—the ſale of the Peerage and the purchaſe of ſeats in the Commons—the formation of a ſtock-purſe by the miniſter to monopolize boroughs, and

buy up repreſentation. This new practice whereby the miniſter of the crown becomes the common borough-broker of the kingdom, conſtitutes an offence ſo multitudinous, and in all its parts ſo criminal, as to call for radical reformation, and exemplary puniſhment.—Whether the perſons concerned be Lord Buckingham or his ſecretary, or thoſe who became the objects of his promotion, becauſe they had been the miniſters of his vices,—it was a conſpiracy againſt the fundamental laws of the land, and ſought to eſtabliſh, and has eſtabliſhed, in the place of a limited monarchy, a corrupt deſpotiſm; and if any thing reſcues the perſons ſo concerned from the name of traitors, it is not the principles of law, but its omiſſion, that has not deſcribed by any expreſs proviſionary ſtatute, that patricide of which theſe men, in intention, and in ſubſtance, are guilty. They have adopted a practice which decides the fate of our parliamentary conſtitution. In vain ſhall we boaſt of its bleſſings, and of its three eſtates, the King, the Lords, and the Commons, when the King ſells one eſtate to buy the other, and ſo contaminates both. The miniſter has ſent one ſet of men packing into the Peers, and another ſet of men packing into the Commons; and the firſt he calls the hereditary council, and the latter the grand council of the nation, and both, that once great and auguſt inſtitution—the parliament. Such a condition, I ſay, puts the conſtitution of Ireland not below a republic, but any other form of genuine and healthy government—it is not mixed monarchy with parts happily tempered, and ſo forth—the cant of grave and ſuperannuated addreſſes; but a rank, and vile, and ſimple, and abſolute government, rendered ſo by means that make every part of it vicious and abominable—the executive who devours the whole, and the other two parts which are thus extinguiſhed; of ſuch a conſtitution, the component parts are debauched by one another. The monarch is made to proſtitute the prerogative of honour by the ſale of honours—the Lords by the

the purchaſe; and the Commons proſtitute their nature by being the offspring not of the people, but of a traffic, and proſtitute themſelves again by the ſale of their votes and perſons.

I allow the Britiſh conſtitution the beſt, and I arraign this model as the worſt, becauſe practically and eſſentially the oppoſite of that Britiſh conſtitution. The Britiſh miniſter has given an account of the Engliſh conſtitution which he wiſhes to extend to the Iriſh conſtitution—"Ariſtocracy," ſays he, "reflects luſtre on the crown, and lends ſupport and effect to democracy, while democracy gives vigour and energy to both, and the ſovereignty crowns the conſtitution with dignity and authority—ariſtocracy is the poiſe," ſays he—"give an infuſion of nobility." The miniſter here can anſwer him—He who ſold the ariſtocracy, and bought the democracy—he who beſt underſtands in practice what is this infuſion of nobility—He who has infuſed poiſon into this ariſtocratic and this democratic diviſion of power, and has crowned the whol with corruption—He well knows all this as far as Ireland is concerned, to be theatric repreſentation, and that the conſtitution of the country is exactly the reverſe of thoſe ſcenes and farces which are acted on the public ſtages of impoſture and hypocriſy.

By this trade of Parliament the King is abſolute—his will is ſignified by both Houſes of Parliament, who are now as much an inſtrument in his hand as a bayonet in the hands of a regiment. Like a regiment, we have our adjutant, who ſends to the infirmary for the old, and to the brothel for the young, and men thus carted as it were into this Houſe to vote for the miniſter are called the Repreſentatives of the people. Suppoſe General Waſhington to ring his bell, and order his ſervants out of livery to take their ſeats in congreſs. You can apply this inſtance.

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We have read a deſcription of the late National Aſſembly of France. I can ſuppoſe ſomething more degrading even than the picture—ſuppoſe an aſſembly, not ruled as it was ſuggeſted by a club of Jacobines, but by a Swiſs Major, who robbed the Treaſury of France, and bought the aſſembly. You can apply this inſtance.

Mr. Locke has the following paſſage: "Such Revolutions happen not upon every little miſmanagement in public affairs—great miſtakes on the ruling part—many wrong and inconvenient laws, and all the ſlips of human frailty will be borne without mutiny or murmur; but if a long train of abuſes, prevarications, and artifices, all tending one way make the deſign viſible to the people." Mr. Locke then ſtates what the deſign is.

"What I have ſaid concerning the legiſlature," he continues, "is equally true concerning the ſupreme executive,—He acts contrary to his truſt when he either employs the force, treaſure, or offices of the ſociety to corrupt the repreſentatives and gain them to his purpoſe, or openly corrupts the electors and preſcribes to their choice ſuch, whom he, by ſolicitation, promiſes, or otherwiſe has previouſly won to his deſigns, and employs them to bring in ſuch who promiſed beforehand what to vote and what to enact. Thus to regulate candidates and electors and new model the ways of election, what is it but to cut up government by the roots, and poiſon the very ſources of public ſecurity? For the people having reſerved to themſelves the choice of their repreſentatives as a fence to their properties, could do it for no other end but that they might be always truly choſen, and ſo choſen truly act and debate as the neceſſity of the common-wealth ſhould on examination be judged to require; and this, thoſe who give their votes before they hear, are not capable of doing. To "prepare" ſuch an aſſembly as this, and to endeavour to ſet up the declared abettors of his own will

will as the true repreſentatives of the people, is certainly as great a breach of truſt, and as perfect a declaration of a deſign to ſubvert the government, as can poſſibly be.

I muſt obſerve on this paſſage that, in the opinion of Mr. Locke, parliament as well as Kings, may abdicate; and having quoted the paſſage, let me quote the declaration and confeſſion of the Iriſh miniſter: "half a million was expended by government, in 1769, to defeat the ariſtocracy—that is, to buy the repreſentatives of the people, and gentlemen may now force government to expend a greater ſum for the ſame purpoſe." I will now ſtate the fact as appears from your eſtabliſhment, and as you all allow it to be, the intereſt of about that ſum was expended to buy the parliament, and it was bought accordingly. I will ſtate another account—a ſtock-purſe was made by the miniſter, partly out of the ſale of peerages, to buy up ſeats in parliament in order to introduce only ſuch men as had previouſly agreed to vote with the miniſter: and both facts conſtitute ſeverally or jointly what Mr. Locke calls "preparing" ſuch an aſſembly as he deſcribes, and ſetting up the abetters of the will of the miniſter, as the repreſentatives of the people. Here is the preſent model—the trade of parliament inſtead of the conſtitution—ſee its effects; the ſtrongeſt queſtion that could be put to the nationality of the Commons, was that which related to the trade of Ireland with the Eaſt—The queſtion was ſimply this: whether Ireland ſhould exerciſe that trade, or individuals ſell it to the miniſter of the crown, acting in Ireland as an agent to the Eaſt-India company, and after three debates it was determined for the company—againſt the country, by her own parliament, under the influence of her miniſter, who propoſed, that Ireland ſhould be ſatisfied with the right, and leave the profits of the trade to the company—the country, by her exertions, had eſtabliſhed the right; the individual, by corruption, ſold the exerciſe.

It

It happened in 1779, that the claim of what they call free Trade, had gone directly to the exercise, and not to the right: it said, that nothing but a free trade could save this country from impending ruin; meaning not a title to trade, but possession—it happened also, that when government, through the instrumentality of her parliament, stopped the trade of Ireland to the unoccupied parts of the east, Spain interrupted the trade of England to the unoccupied parts in the north-west, and stood with respect to England as government stood with respect to Ireland—with this difference—Spain was a natural and open enemy—the other carries on a war against the interest of her country with her own money, and under the trust and the name of her government.

There was a circumstance attending this treachery that made it still more mortifying—this very government had called upon Ireland for a vote of credit against Spain, and posted the Irish parliament in the most extraordinary and degrading predicament, voting money to a war with Spain for interrupting the trade of England to the north-west, and assisting England in interrupting the trade of Ireland to the east—assisting government to do against Ireland that very act which she was to fight Spain for attempting to commit against Great Britain.

The question cannot end here; it is the cause of free trade and free constitution revived—that cause for which this country committed life and fortune—not for a barren right, but profitable possession—not to give a portion of it to the East-India company, still less, to suffer their own servants to sell a portion of it to the company's agent resident here under the name of your minister: least of all, to suffer that very agent to draw back a portion of your trade by pilfering the treasury to buy the parliament, and to betray the late illustrious acquisitions of their country---on this principle might gentlemen give up the American-European colonial trade---

it

it would be only a queſtion about the quantum of money expended on the members, and the quantum of danger incurred by their notorious acts of bribery and dereliction.

The rejection of a reſponſibility bill, and ſtill more the principles on which it was rejected, is another effect of the trade of parliament---to ſay, that without reſponſibility in the officers of ſtate, there can be no limited monarchy, would be unneceſſary in any enlightened country except Ireland; indeed the exiſtence of reſponſibility is as eſſential to the limitation of the monarchy, as the exiſtence of a King to monarchy itſelf; and yet when the ſervants of the crown argued againſt the bill, ſuch ignorance did theſe men diſplay, that they affirmed, were the miniſters of the crown reſponſible in Ireland, for what they did by the orders of the King, they were above him—Viceroys over him; and tattle of that ſort:—theſe men who have been talking and talking about the Britiſh conſtitution, ſhewed they were miſinformed both of the fact of the conſtitution in one country, and the principles of it in both—It was thus La Manca's knight diſcourſes about the perfections of his miſtreſs whom he never beheld. As on the Eaſt India queſtion they had reſiſted their Free Trade, ſo here they reſiſted their free conſtitution, and contended for abſolute impunity in every abuſe of power and prerogative that could be committed by the ſervants of the crown, and by none more likely to be committed than themſelves—acting under the authority of the firſt magiſtrate.

They were the more inexcuſable for this doctrine, becauſe they had before them their own crimes—many of them ſat in the houſe like gorgeous Satraps, dreſſed in their own extortion—they had alſo in recollection the crimes of their predeceſſors, of thoſe lord lieutenants and their ſecretaries whom theſe men had ſupported.—In 1769 the army was encreaſed to 15,000 men, under compact to keep within the kingdom at

at all times, except invaſion or rebellion in Great Britain, 12,000 men; and in 1779 you had not 5,000, and government got your own conſent to your nakedneſs—in 1773 a tenth was added to your revenues, on compact to ſtop the further growth of debt, and in 1775 a new debt was preſented to you—in 1785 new taxes were preſented on ſpecific eſtimates of all your expences, and every one of thoſe eſtimates, inſtantly, and ever ſince, groſsly and corruptly exceeded—in 1783, an addition is made to the place of the private ſecretary to the lord lieutenant, on compact that he is not to have a penſion—He takes a penſion, his ſucceſſor keeps the addition, and the nation continues ſaddled with both.—In 1766, a King's letter is ſent over, premiſing a ſpecific reduction of moſt of the offices in the ordnance—in 1789 every word of the letter is falſified, and every ſalary of thoſe places encreaſed for parliamentary influence. In 1773, a promiſe was made, in conſideration of new taxes, to keep the boards of ſtamps and accounts united—In 1789, that promiſe is falſified, and they are divided for corruption. In 1773, the boards of revenue are united, and the number of the commiſſioners on compact reduced—and in 1789, the compact is broken for corruption.

In 1785, the miniſters in the reſpective countries come forward with two ſets of propoſitions—the Iriſh ſecretary produces one part of the plan as the ultimatum of government, and for that he gets your taxes; the Engliſh miniſter then produces the other part, and for this he aſks your conſtitution; and Ireland like a poor traveller is glad to eſcape with her life and liberty, after having been fleeced by two robbers.—I only ſtate a few inſtances of perfidy out of a thouſand inſtances of Mal-Adminiſtration.

Carthage, or what the Roman hiſtorian has ſaid of Carthage, has not exceeded your miniſters in the fallibility of public honour. The miniſters of this country have acted here

here on the principle of East-India adventurers; but here there is less vigour in the soil, and therefore less plunder in your government; send these men beyond the line—send them to Aurora and Ganges, and that principle will be rapine—keep them to Ireland—it is peculation—it is the sale of the country for half a million—it is robbing the country to buy the parliament.

The persons who opposed the responsibility were therefore perfectly apprised of its necessity, they should have felt it in the general principles of the constitution, they must have felt it in the particular abuses in the Irish constitution, they felt in their own particular situation, that the minister of Ireland, as our administration is at present constituted, has an interest opposite to the welfare of the country.—It was once the object of the Irish government to support the supremacy of the British parliament; it is now their object to supply that supremacy, and establish the corruption of the Irish in its place.

What made these present men ministers? What, but a steady opposition to the independent exertions of parliament, and an activity to corrupt it? The liberty of the country has served the individual—it has made their treachery precious, and corrupt Irishmen must now do what powerful Englishmen did before them.

The constitution of parliament may be divided into two parts—internal, which comprehends the existence of parliament—and external, which comprehends its creation; as to the former it is not the mere existence, but the independency of its existence, wherein the freedom of the subject consists. To restore that independency a place-bill was introduced. The Legislators—the purse-bearers—the grand inquisition and great council of the nation, had as little controul on the monarch as his beef-eaters. When the place-

bill

bill was propoſed and rejected---Brennus and the Gauls---The right honourable Gentleman was in your lobby with his mouth in every man's ear, and his touch in every man's palm---when gentlemen rejected that bill they did it in the paroxyſm and agitation of their own peſtilence.

By the rejection of the bill they ſeemed to declare, that the houſe has been bought, was bought, and ſhould be bought again---Among other arguments againſt the bill, one was advanced by authority---that the bill would prevent the crown from combating ariſtocracy, by bribing the Iriſh parliament. What an argument for a radical application---for a deciſive meaſure to bring back your conſtitution to its firſt principles!

This bill was rejected along with a penſion bill---The penſion liſts ſo called are two, civil and military---but the real penſion liſts are numerous---they diſtribute the bounty of the King among the corruption of the Senate---the licentiouſneſs of the court and the enemies of the realm.---This is called a part of the dignity of the crown.---Corruption has not only reached the hearts of men---but it has debaſed their dialect---and our public language is become the ſpeech of hypocriſy and impoſture.

In rejecting both theſe bills, the miniſterial language was, ---it is true, they are the laws of England, but they are not fit for the meridian of Ireland---this is much more than aſſerting that Ireland ſhould not be free---it is aſſerting that England ſhould be free and Ireland ſhould not---you may put the queſtion of ſervitude in ſuch a ſhape, as to diſguſt the pride of a Cappadocian. The lot of Ireland, according to this reaſoning, becomes particular degradation---We bear miſfortunes patiently becauſe they are the portion of man---but if they were the inheritance of you and of me only---if the imperfection of the diſpenſations---ordinances, and degrees of

of nature were viſited on one tribe of the human ſpecies --if Providence had ſpoken like the miniſters of our country--- theſe bleſſings are very well for others, but they are too good for *your meridian*. I fear that the tribe ſo caſt off would turn to execration,—and till Providence ſhall mark its divine diſpleaſure by inflicting ſome viſible opprobrious diſtinction on the people of Ireland, confirming the argument of their miniſter, and denoting its intention to degrade us, I muſt to ſuch logic remain a diſbeliever. It was once in this country ---" equal fate and equal freedom;"---the ſtile is now changed a little---equal fate.---i. e.---equal fall, but inferior freedom---inferior freedom and ſuperior profligacy.

With the ſame view to ſave the internal purity of parliament, we propoſed a reſolution, tending thoſe miniſters of the crown, employed in the ſale of peerages. They have made the honorific prerogative a nuiſance---they have endeavoured to diſgrace one houſe of parliament, and to model both---they have invited the rabble to tread upon the nobles; and if this houſe had done its duty, ſome of thoſe gentlemen who are on the treaſury bench ſhould be lodged in the tower.

I have ſaid the conſtttution may be divided into two parts ---internal and external: to preſerve the former we introduced thoſe meaſures, and with a view in ſome degree to diminiſh the corruption of the latter we introduced a bill for diſqualifying revenue officers from voting at elections---the bill did no more than what the principles of the conſtitution required, and no more than England already had done by ſtatute. It prevented from interfering in election, a ſet of men who are in a moſt abſolute manner dependant on the will of a miniſter; men who have from their office the power to harraſs and oppreſs the freedom of other electors, while they have no power to act with freedom themſelves: they are ſo many votes taken out of the democratic ſcale, and thrown into that of the other ſide, and inſtead of adding to the

the number of free electors, are so many votes to be deducted from thence. The disqualifying bill was more necessary in Ireland, because the persons concerned in the revenue sit in parliament; your collectors are members---your commissioners are members---are, in some cases, of course to try their own constituents. They are not only members---they are ministers.--they are not only ministers---they are borough patrons, and form a great aristocratic influence by virtue and abuse of their commissions.

The trade of parliament is like original sin---it operates through all political creation, and would lead me to various other instances in which this country has been deceived and exhausted, and in no instances more frequently than in the artifices whereby this trade has endeavoured to sustain itself. You remember the 140,000l. and the three-fold falsehoods annexed---trade---equalization of expence---and non-accumulation of debt.---The first promise failed at the outset---the equalization, the second promise, was also falsified---the government falsified every one of its own estimates, not of necessity, as has been suggested, or from national charges imposed, but voluntarily, prodigally, and corruptly.---I'll remind them of some of their expences; do they remember the prodigalities of your pension in 1786, and the profusion of their park expences, at which the ministers laughed, when they voted? Do they remember the corruptions of Lord Buckingham, which corruption the gentlemen acknowledged when they voted for the third promise---Non-accumulation of debt fails---when that of equalization fails, the minister who is guilty of exceeding, is guilty of debt, and not he who provides for it---they get a lottery which is a resource to debt to supply the current corruption of the year, and they introduce this lottery under colour of diminishing the interest ofthe loan, and when established apply the annual amount to the establishment; they had gotten 140,000l. taxes, 80,000l. lottery; this won't do, they get a gross sum

of 60,000l. from the bank, and inſtead of applying to liquidate, give it to the eſtabliſhment—80,000l. per annum lottery, 60,000l. bank.—For what? in the trade of parliament they raiſe another revenue—the new duties on ſpirit.

They raiſed the duty juſt to that criminal and critical point which left the intoxication, and encreaſed the revenue, to take away at once the underſtanding of the people and their money; the encreaſe of the duty on whiſkey, they made an excuſe for raiſing the duty on rum; as that duty ſtood before, it was higher than the proportion. In England the proportion is about 1 to 3, in Ireland 2 to 3; violating the proportion he profeſſed to obſerve, to filch the revenue he pretended to adjure, he had engaged to encourage the brewery, as he had promiſed to depreſs the ſpirit; and was as fallacious in the encouragement of the one, as in the depreſſion of the other—his whiſkey was to be rendered unattainable by raiſing it a farthing a pint; ſtrong beer was to be brought into conſumption by lowering it the 100th part of a farthing a quart; here is his ultimate line of encouragement and depreſſion of bringing a wholeſome beverage into general uſe, and baniſhing a poiſon—the miniſter had filched by this trick, his drawback on the loan, which was 70,000l. he had filched what was eſtimated at about 40,000l. beſide on ſpirit, and in conſideration of this he offers you beer at 3d. a barrel, reduced price. The fact is, the price of beer is now encreaſed—the gentlemen who firſt propoſed, diſclaimed the buſineſs, and ſaw the duplicity—they had determined not only to give the brewery deciſive advantage, by lowering the duty, but by taking off reſtrictions on the trade. I paſs over the ſale meaſure, by which the brewer is now taxed and aggrieved: hear how they have taken off the reſtrictions—by adding to them—they have impoſed a new reſtriction affecting the quantity of liquor each brewer is to make, and to exclude the ſmaller brewer from the trade, they add a new reſtriction,

reſtriction, and they left one of the worſt of the old—the diviſion of the breweries.

On the ſame plan of encouragement, he agreed to permit the importation of foreign hops. We had kept down our brewery in compliment to the brewers of London---we put it under inconveniencies in compliment to the hop-growers of England---we had excluded all foreign hopes and this monopoly of our conſumption, our negociators of the propoſitions ſtated not as a favour to England but an obligation to her---they have ſince changed their opinion, and learned that Flanders may grow hops as well as England.---They agreed therefore that foreign hops ſhould be importable at 3d. per lb. which is twice as much as the duty on Engliſh; and then, in mockery of what they themſelves had agreed to, they propoſed in that repoſitory of unconſtitutional matter ---the revenue bill---a clauſe which prohibited the import of foreign hops except when Britiſh amounted to 9l. the cwt. ---ſo that however dear---however bad the Engliſh hops might prove, you muſt take them unleſs they come to ſuch a price that England cannot export them.---Here is the fatal hand of an Iriſh cabinet legiſlating againſt Ireland to promote its own credit in the court of Great Britain.---Thus ſtands the conduct of the miniſter.---On this ſubject he had diſclaimed revenue---he had filched what eſtimated at above 100,000l.---he had profeſſed to ſtop the uſe of whiſkey—he had raiſed it ¼d. the pint—he had profeſſed to preſerve the Britiſh proportion in the duty of rum---he violated that proportion---he had profeſſed to give the brewery deciſive encouragement by lowering the duty on beer---he ſunk the duty the hundreth part of a farthing a quart---he had propoſed to leave the brewer free; he felt one grievous reſtriction and added another---he had profeſſed to agree to permit the import of foreign hops; he fixes the line of permiſſion at an impoſſible price. Theſe meaſures were too bad, and therefore it became neceſſary to do ſomething bearing a reſemblance

lance to what he had profeſſed---the diſcouragement of the uſe of ſpirits. He therefore borrows from a right honourable gentleman a bill of regulation---that bill, every efficient part of which is the formation of the right honourable Gentleman, is the only meaſure that gives any change of relief from that ſituation to which the duties adopted by the miniſtry lead---an increaſe of revenue and a continuation of drunkenneſs

From what I have ſtated of the ſituation of your parliament, and from the conduct of that parliament, under the influence of ſuch a ſituation, your political liberty is in much danger. —What is the ſtate of your civil liberty? Four actions are brought for certain publications againſt one printer, and without ſpecifying any loſs they lay their damages to the amount of 8,000l. The judge grants different fiats to oblige the printer to give bail to that amount—and the printer, unable to furniſh ſuch bail, is committed to priſon; here is, by the judge ſo acting, a breach of the great charter—he deprived the ſubject of his liberty in a caſe which deprived the preſs of its freedom, and he did this againſt a poſitive clauſe in Magna Charta, which forbids exceſſive bail, and he did this on a principle which would enable him equally to deprive every other ſubject in the kingdom of his freedom, againſt whom any action, however frivolous, was brought.

The printer having ſuffered almoſt to ruin under an arbitrary judgment, became a ſubject for parliamentary enquiry —but here a perſon much more criminal than the judge—the miniſter ſtands forth—he comes with all the patronage of the crown to ſcreen from juſtice all theſe attacks on the liberty of the ſubject, and the liberty of the preſs. But was it friendſhip—was it private tenderneſs; no, he betrayed the judge in the moment, and in the manner of defending him —he confeſſed the crime when he ſcreened the criminal— The miniſtry are enemies to the inquiſitorial power of the peo-

ple—a proceeding againſt an erroneous judge might be a precedent againſt an hot—an intemperate and an arbitrary miniſter—they who had libelled the people of Ireland as groſs and ſtupid, would not like to ſee that people exerciſe their inqueſt over the worſt or even the beſt of judges. The people might queſtion the ſale of the peerages, they might queſtion the expenditure of the half million—they might queſtion the attack on the rights of the city—when therefore the miniſter ſcreened the judge—it was partly on a principle that the Houſe of Commons ſhould not proceed againſt ſtate offenders—it was not that they hated the judge *leſs*, but that they hated juſtice MORE—the honourable mover ſaid he dropped the queſtion—I think him right—The offence of the judge is waſhed away—he has been puniſhed in the treachery with which he has been defended—he has been puniſhed in having a rival, his patron, and the right honourable gentleman his advocate: as his offences are waſhed away—ſo are they eclipſed by the crime of the miniſtry—that miniſter, who, ſyſtematically and deliberately bad, could ſcreen with the influence of the crown—a judge whoſe offence they acknowledge—whoſe character they betray—whoſe authority they undermine, and whoſe power they continue.

The miniſtry, for whoſe continuation you are now to thank the King, have not only attacked civility by protecting the errors of judges, but by making their ſeats part of the patronage of the miniſter in the H. of Commons—a reſpect for the conſtitution is fatal to the pretenſions of a lawyer—a diſregard for liberty is a qualification ſufficient for him—the barriſter is brought from his ſtudies in the hall, to his compliances in the ſenate—in vain ſhall the miniſter aſſume a regard for the common law, to apologize for his contempt for the conſtitution, when he undermines the law as well as that conſtitution, by making a corrupt political traffic of both, and mortgages the ſeats of Juſtice, to reward parliamentary compliance—it is worſe than an illegal opinion, or an attack on cor-

corporal rights—it is ſowing the ſeeds of illegality in the very bed of juſtice. That miniſter who makes the law arrangement a part of parliamentary patronage, ſells the ſeats of juſtice; he who ſells the ſeats of juſtice, ſells the law; and he who ſells the law of the country, ſells his loyalty.

I ſhall be told of many learned men of the law, ſitting in this Houſe. I make not the leaſt doubt; but if it is neither repute nor learning, but the tender of both at the feet of the miniſter, that muſt raiſe them to the bench, I condole with them, and ſtill more with their country.

There are various inſtances in which the corruption of the ſenate touches the condition of private life, inſtances which cannot be well pronounced to attack either the political or civil liberty, yet accompliſh an abundance of miſchief; the *police eſtabliſhment* of the city of *Dublin*, repeatedly patronized by the preſent adminiſtraiton, is of this nature, an inſtitution planned to corrupt your magiſtracy and to procure a guard which neglects, inſults, and has committed robbery on the citizens; they applied for redreſs and found in government an accomplice; the charge for this public nuiſance has been, ſince its eſtabliſhment, near 100,000l.

The rejection of the barren land bill is another ſubject, where the trade of parliament has touched the private intereſt of men and the intended œconomy of the country, a ſubject, if compared to what has been mentioned already, a trifle—but as explanatory of principle, a volume. The bill provided, that lands which, by reaſon of their barrenneſs, had been exempt from tithe, ſhould continue ſo for ſeven years, notwithſtanding their cultivation; the principle of this bill was an immediate addition to the income of the kingdom, and a reverſionary addition to that of the church: upon its principle it was rejected by the influence of government, and of that very government who had before declared the bill to be

be the beſt ever brought into parliament. Three bills had been introduced in 1788, one for rape, another for flax, and the third for barren land. The miniſtry compromiſed, that two ſhould be ſacrificed to the biſhops, and one ſhould be conceded to the country. They went farther, and their Atr.-gen. declared, that the bill in queſtion, viz. the barren-land bill, was the beſt ever brought into parliament; and he took on himſelf the modelling ſome clauſes to ſecure the aſſent of the biſhops—the biſhops or ſome who led them, were then ſuppoſed to have broken faith with government, as government after broke its engagement with the country, and rejected this very beſt of all poſſible bills on the worſt of all poſſible motives—for the votes of the biſhops in parliament. For that, they, the miniſters, ſold this bill—they ſold it to the lords ſpiritual, juſt as they had before ſold their honours to the lords temporal. Such a ſtep would ſcarce be credible, except under an adminiſtration who had prevaricated on the ſubject of the propoſitions, under whoſe venal auſpices feats of juſtice, peerages, the eſtabliſhment, and now the bills and proceedings of parliament, like their own talents and activity, were all ſold for parliamentary compliances.

I congratulate the church on its alliance with ſuch miniſters of the crown: but let me aſſure them it will not ſerve their promotion, they live under an adminiſtration which has but two principles of promotion—for church or law—or any thing—Engliſh recommendation and Iriſh corruption.

What is the caſe of doctor Kirwan? That man preferred our country and our religion, and brought to both a genius ſuperior to what he found in either— he called forth the latent virtues of the human heart, and taught men to diſcover in themſelves, a mine of charity, of which the proprietors had been unconſcious; in feeding the lamp of charity he had almoſt exhauſted the lamp of life; he comes to interrupt the repoſe of the pulpit, and ſhakes one world with the thunder of

of the other: the preacher's deſk becomes the throne of light —around him a train—not ſuch as crouch and ſwagger at the levees of princes—nor ſuch as follow the proceſſion of the vice-roys—horſe, foot and dragoons, but that wherewith a great genius peoples his own ſtate; charity in ecſtacy, and vice in humiliation—not as with you in cabinet againſt the people—but in humiliation—vanity, arrogance, and ſaucy empty pride, appalled by the rebuke of the preacher, and cheated for a moment of their native improbity and inſolence.

What reward? St. *Nicholas* within, or St. *Nicholas* without. The curſe of *Swift* is upon him, to have been born an *Iriſhman* —to have been a man of genius, and uſed it for the good of his country. Had this man, inſtead of being the brighteſt of preachers, been the dulleſt of lawyers---had he added to dulneſs, venality—had he aggravated the crime of venality, by his ſenatorial ſituation—he had been a *judge*—or had he been born a blockhead, bred a ſlave, and trained up in a great Engliſh family, and handed over as a houſehold circumſtance to the Iriſh viceroy, he would have been an Iriſh biſhop and an Iriſh peer, with a great patronage, perhaps a borough, and had returned members to vote againſt Ireland---and the Iriſh parochial clergy muſt have adored his ſtupidity, and deified his dulneſs. But under the preſent ſyſtem, Ireland is not the element in which a native genius can riſe, unleſs he ſells that genius to the court, and atones by the apoſtacy of his conduct for the crime of his nativity. *Unde derivata hæc clades?* in four words I will tell you in the trade of parliament: —it is a matter to conſider, how a man bred up in the ſchool of liberty, how a foreigner would ſpeak to you on your preſent ſituation---he would perhaps addreſs the gentlemen of this houſe in the following manner---"You put on the ſword, and would have drawn it for your freedom, and failing, you had died in the field or had bled on the ſcaffold---in that event, the Attorney General on the part of the crown, had

proſecuted

profecuted, and the Chief Juſtice had pronounced ſentence, and the boys of your court would have ſhouted at the execution of the patriots.---How comes it that of the men that would have been your executioners, ſome of them have become your miniſters? Your madneſs is not become a general diſeaſe, we do not find that the Engliſh after their revolution made father Peter archbiſhop of Canterbury, or that general *Bender* has placed *Vandernoot* at the head of the Imperial army—America had enemies, but ſhe diſpoſed of them in a different manner; you have put into commiſſion your enemies, and you have baniſhed your friends—we ſee with aſtoniſhment, and in it we bluſh for the abortive efforts of national ſpirit; the mortifying inſignificance of public opinions and the degrading contempt into which the people of your country have fallen, with all their ſhouts and addreſſes. We ſee your old general who led you to your conſtitution, march off—diſmiſſed by your miniſtry as unfit to be truſted with the government of a county—the cockade of government ſtruck from his hat.—That man whoſe accompliſhments gave a grace to your cauſe, and whoſe patriotiſm gave a credit to your nobles, whom the rabble itſelf could not ſee without veneration as if they beheld ſomething not only good but ſacred—the man who drooping and faint when you began your ſtruggles, forgot his infirmity, and found in the recovery of your conſtitution a vital principle added to his own—the man who ſmit with the eternal love of fame and freedom, carried the people's ſtandard till he planted it on the citadel of freedom—ſee him diſmiſſed from his government for thoſe very virtues, and by that very miniſtry for whoſe continuance you are to thank the king.—ſee him overwhelmed at once with the adoration of his country, and the diſpleaſure of her miniſters.—The hiſtory of nations is often-times a farce—what is the hiſtory of that nation that having, at the hazard of every thing dear in a free conſtitution, obtained its miſtreſs, baniſhes the

the champion and commits the honour of the lady to the care of the raviſher? There was a time when the vault of liberty could hardly contain the flight of your pinion; ſome of you went forth like a giant rejoicing in his ſtrength; and now you ſtand like elves, at the door of your own pandemonium. The armed youth of the country, like a thouſand ſtreams thunder from a thouſand hills, and filled the plain with the congregated waters in whoſe mirror was ſeen for a moment the watery image of the Britiſh conſtitution—the waters ſubſide—the torrents ceaſe—the rill ripples within its own bed, and the boys and children of the village paddle in the brook."

Sir, whenever freedom ſhall be properly underſtood, depend upon it the gentlemen of this country will be aſhamed of the condition they bear, and the queſtions they have made upon it—in the mean time I can account for their patience—the Iriſh are accuſtomed to be trodden upon—uniformly, ſays Junius, has Ireland been plundered and oppreſſed. It is not ſo in England:—defective in ſome particulars, as the conſtitution of England may ſtill be, yet with all thoſe defects England has a conſtitution, and ſhe has alſo maxims as well as laws to preſerve it—they have not been bleſſed in England with a ſucceſſion of lord lieutenants, ſecretaries, whoſe ſole occupation has been to debauch the political morality of the gentlemen of the iſland—no miniſter will venture to tell the gentlemen of England that they muſt be bought—no man will venture to ſay that the beſt miniſter is he who buys parliament the cheapeſt. Men do ſometimes deſert or oppoſe their own party—but not themſelves and their own liſt of meaſures—a man does not in England publicly croſs the houſe to reverſe every part of his conduct, and then hold out his little paw to the miniſter like a penny boy. There was indeed one man in England ſuppoſed to have done ſo; but he was in England a prodigy—let me add he was an Iriſh ſecretary.

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The people of this country ſuppoſe that England acceded to their liberties, and they were right; but the preſent miniſtry have ſent the curſe after that bleſſing—hear the curſe! "You have got rid of the Britiſh parliament, but we will buy the Iriſh—you have ſhaken off our final Judicature; but we will ſell yours—you have got your free trade, but we will make your own parliament ſuffer our monopoliſts in one quarter of the globe, to exclude you; and you ſhall remain content with the right, deſtitute of the poſſeſſion.

"Your corporate rights ſhall be attacked, and you ſhall not ſtir—the freedom of your preſs and the perſonal freedom of the ſubject ſhall be outraged, and you ſhall not arraign—your city ſhall be put under contribution to corrupt its magiſtracy, and pay a guard to neglect and inſult her—the ſeats of juſtice ſhall be purchaſed by perſonal ſervitude, and the qualification of your judges ſhall be to have borne their ſuffrage and teſtimony againſt the people. Taxes ſhall be drawn from the poor by various artifices to buy the rich—your bills, like your people, ſhall be ſold, you ſhall ſee the genius of your country neglected—her patriotiſm diſmiſſed from commiſſion, and the old enemies of your conſtitution made the rulers of the realm."

On the 25th of January, 1792, Sir Hercules Langriſhe ſtated his promiſed plan for the relief of the *Roman Catholics* of Ireland.——"It is now juſt ten years (ſaid he) ſince the cauſe of the Roman Catholics particularly engaged the attention of parliament—ſince we took our laſt review of thoſe laws which the paſſions and prejudices, perhaps the preſſure, of an intemperate ſeaſon, had entailed upon them.

I think, Sir, the preſent times and circumſtances invite us to reſume that duty.

The good offices we owe, one to another—the indulgence which is due to fellow ſubjects, recommended and endeared by

by the unimpeachable conduct of a century, the conſideration that we owe to the national proſperity, all unite in calling our attention to the reviſion of this ſubject, at a time when the public mind is becoming more enlightened, and prejudices and jealouſy are every day yielding to confidence and affection.

It is not without much ſatisfaction, and I may be allowed to ſay, with ſome little pride too, that I take a part in this grateful duty; as I conſider, amongſt the few honours of my humble life, that of being almoſt the firſt member of the Iriſh parliament who ventured to ſtate to you the imprudence and immorality of what were then the *popery laws*; as a ſyſtem of juriſprudence, ſubverſive of integrity, and as a ſcheme of government, which, whilſt by its ſeverity it alienated the body of the people, by its impolicy forbad them to veſt in the ſtate any hoſtage for their fidelity.

I own, Sir, I was not able in my reſearches into Holy Writ, to meet with that particular paſſage of Scripture, that gives an authority to propagate the faith by a perverſion of morals —or from a principle of piety, to prohibit the exerciſe of religious worſhip.

I could not preſume to think that it was ever juſtifiable, for the ſake of civil or ceremonial conformity, to build a code of religious laws on the ruins of almoſt every moral virtue and obligation; to ſport with the moſt ſacred feelings, and violate the fondeſt prepoſſeſſions of the human heart—to rob youth of education and age of authority—to ſeduce the ſon to become an intereſted informer againſt the piety of the father, and ſo break the bonds of all domeſtic fidelity and affection.

I know very well, that the ſtate has a right to impoſe conditions on thoſe who are to become the ſtate itſelf.—But to

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be entitled to common benefits, and equal protection, I know of no qualifications but allegiance, a peaceable demeanor, and obedience to the laws.

It is now many years ſince I firſt ſtated thoſe ideas to parliament; but, from the temper of the times, parhaps the imbecilbity of the advocate, I was unſported, and unſucceſsful.

However, the agitation of truth muſt ever make an impreſſion. Succeeding times became more enlightened, and religious animoſity gave way to moral juſtice and political wiſdom.

In the year 1774, the legiſlature firſt gratified the Roman Catholics with an opportunity of teſtifying their allegiance, by framing an oath for them, competent to that teſt, without involving any article of religious faith, or ſpeculative opinion.

Four years afterwards (in 1778) the legiſlature, wiſely confiding in their oaths, rewarded their loyalty by ſome ſubſtantial conceſſions.

The act in their favour then paſſed, truly recites in the preamble, "That from their uniform peaceable behaviour for a long ſeries of years, it appears reaſonable and expedient to relax ſeveral of their incapacities and diſabilities."

Accordingly it allowed them "to take leaſes of land for 9 hundred and ninety-nine years, and at any rent; to enjoy all ſuch eſtates that ſhall be left or transferred to them, and to diſpoſe of the ſame by will or otherwiſe; and that they ſhall be deviſable and transferrable, as in the caſe of other people." The abominable uſurpation of children againſt the father was aboliſhed—and to theſe conceſſions, the conditions annexed were: Taking the oath of 1774—and that the law ſhould not extend to converts relapſing, or to Proteſtants becoming Papiſts, or educating their children in the Popiſh religion.

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The legiſlature naturally conſidering that ſome ſuſpicion attached on frequent verſatility of faith, and on thoſe who profeſſed a religion themſelves which they would not tranſmit to their poſterity.

Four years after that (in 1782) the ſpirit of the toleration further extended itſelf, and ſound policy gained a further aſcendancy in favour of the Roman catholics. That ſyſtem of ſeverity, which a few years before was thought prudence, began to look ſomething like injuſtice, and what prejudice had adopted as preſervation, moderation began to view as little ſhort of oppreſſion.

In 1782, the capacity of acquiring land by purchaſe (which in 1778 was granted under a fiction) was given direct and entire.

"The acquiſition by purchaſe, grant, limitation, deſcent, or deviſe, by will or otherwiſe deſcendible, as the lands of Proteſtants," was communicated to the Roman Catholics.—Some of their diſabilities, as to education, were removed —The ſevere law was repealed, that compelled the Papiſts, to declare on oath when, and where, and by whom they heard maſs celebrated—The unequal attachment of their properties to make repriſals for common roberies, was diſcontinued.—Their horſes were no more to be expoſed as public plunder; and the prepoſterous, but offenſive prohibition, whereby perſons profeſſing the Popiſh religion were forbidden to reſide in certain cities, was repealed.—They were allowed the full rights of property.—The free exerciſe of religion; and to appoint guardians to their own children.

Here, it muſt be confeſſed, was a great effort of liberality, in oppoſition to old opinions. The occaſion was worthy of the exertion; and the conſequences juſtified and rewarded it. Excluſive of all moral duty, it was of ſo great moment to the national

national proſperity to involve in its intereſt, to attach—to naturalize in their native country ſo great a body of its inhabitants—to make them a part of the nation, without whom we could not be a nation at all.

However, Sir, conſidering the nature of man—the obſtinacy of old opinions—and the uſual acrimony of religious diſſenſion, I muſt ſay, that ſo ſignal a triumph over rooted prejudices, diſcloſed ſuch a growing confidence—ſuch an amiable ſympathy—ſuch a relenting of heart, in the predominant power of the ſtate towards the Roman Catholics of the country, as ought to conciliate their affection, engage their gratitude and confirm their attachment to the State.

And when I ſay (ſpeaking from a ſenſe of moral obligation) that ſuch conduct of the legiſlature ought to have produced this effect, I ſay, with confidence and aſſurance, from the authority of experience, that it has produced thoſe effects. It has ſtamped thoſe ſentiments with a deep impreſſion on the minds of our Catholic brethren—I mean on the minds of thoſe who are ſufficiently enlightened to judge of the relation of political ſociety, or feel the force of moral obligation.

If I were not of that opinion, confirmed and decided as it is into conviction, I would not at this moment ſtand up as their advocate for another conceſſion. For I muſt take the liberty to ſay, what it is my duty to ſay as a member of Parliament, what it is my duty to obſerve as a common citizen, what is the duty of every perſon to know and to conform to, "that the ſtate is paramount, and all men who live under its protection, live under its controul, and are amenable to its ſuperiority." If they approach the legiſlature, they muſt approach it by the avenues the Conſtitution has marked out; if they apply to Parliament, it muſt be by petition, not repreſentation or remonſtrance; if they would have benefits, they muſt ſolicit them as favours, and accept them as conceſſions.

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This is not only the conſtitution of Ireland but the conſtitution of every ſettled government in the known world.

As to the natural Rights of Man (of which we have lately heard ſo much) they do not belong to political ſociety; they belong to that ſtate of nature which is ſo accurately deſcribed by Mr. Hobbs, and ſo ardently recommended by Mr. Paine; a ſtate where, indeed, the race is to the ſwift, and the battle to the ſtrong; where poſſeſſion is property, and ſtrength is right; a ſtate ſuperior to the conditions of ſociety, the reſtrictions of covenant, or the bondage of law.

In a ſociety protected by laws, and bleſſed with a conſtitution, thoſe laws and that conſtitution aſcertain the Rights of man.

Therefore, Sir, I muſt freely confeſs that notwithſtanding my prepoſſeſſions in favour of the Roman Catholics, (which I ſhall always be proud to acknowledge, as they are juſtified by their conduct) though I can number ſome of them among my anceſtors; though I love many of them as my friends, and embrace all of them as my countrymen, I was yet for ſome time checked in my ardour, and interrupted in the progreſs of my ſervices to them, by reading of late a multitude of publications and paragraphs in the newſpapers, and other prints circulated gratis, and communicated to every body, with every degree of induſtry, purporting to convey the ſentiments of the Catholic Body of Ireland.

If theſe were their ſentiments, they were ſuch as could not recommend them to the further favour of the State;—they were ſuch as muſt alienate their old friends, aud could not get them new ones, if they would chuſe their friends from amongſt thoſe who are friends to the conſtitution. What was the import?—They were exhortations to the people never to be ſatisfied at any conceſſion, until the State itſelf

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conceded; not only that, but until a new conſtitution ſhould be made for their preſent accommodation, and future entertainment;—they were precautions againſt public tranquillity —they were invitations to diſorder, and covenants to diſcontent; they were oſtentations of ſtrength, rather than ſolicitations for favours; rather appeals to the powers of the people, than applications to the authority of the State; they involve the relief of the Catholic, with the revolution of the Government, and were diſſertations for democracy rather than arguments for toleration;—they ſeemed the projects of ſome bold theoriſts, whoſe principle was to divide man from man, and whoſe politics were to ſeparate Great Britain from Ireland;—they ſeemed to be the effuſions of ſome raſh philoſopher, ignorant of our ſyſtem, who would ſet looſe and adrift the little planet we inhabit, and commit it to the vortex of a vain and exploded philoſophy, to range the univerſe without attraction, connexion or relation to any greater, or other body.—Was there a man who felt the bleſſings of regulated rights, and ſettled government; who knew the value of peace and the comforts of property?—was there a man who preferred order to outrage, and happineſs to ſpeculation, —or who looked at the growing proſperity of the country, whoſe mind muſt not have revolted at the tendency of ſuch doctrines; or who muſt not have felt an accumulated concern and diſappointment, if he could for a moment ſuppoſe that they had originated with our Catholic brethren?—that they were the growth of that ſoil which we had ſo lately and ſo liberally cultivated?

But common ſenſe and common juſtice required of us to trace thoſe opinions to their ſource.

If the Roman Catholics embrace thoſe ſentiments, the State could not embrace them—if they were miſled by raſh councils to engage in confederacies of perpetual requiſition,—

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If they were not to be ſatisfied at any conceſſion, whilſt any thing remained to be conceded, in that caſe common ſenſe muſt ſuggeſt to us, that we ſhould not by any new conceſſion unite more power with their diſcontent; for however ſincerely we may and ought to wiſh that they ſhould enjoy every comfort and happineſs the ſtate can afford them, yet we cannot go ſo far, as to alter or make a new conſtitution for their accommodation; we cannot even for them, hazard the bleſſings of an eſtabliſhed free Government, that has been the growth and the wiſdom of ages, and finally ratified and ſettled for above an hundred years; we are not ſo daring as to commit to the change of every raſh experiment.

If the Roman Catholics could have been ſo far perverted, as to have addreſſed the legiſlature in theſe high tones of requiſition, they would have aſſaulted that conſtitution they affected to reverence—they would have made their advances to Parliament as beſiegers, not petitioners; and Parliament would have been bound, in its own defence, to repulſe them, to reſiſt their applications. If you were, in that caſe, to conceed or capitulate, you would ſurrender the conſtitution in your charge, you would violate your truſt, you would betray the ſtate, and be reſponſible for the anarchy that would ruſh in upon you.—But I have the happineſs now to aſſert from authority, what I have long learned from experience, "That not a ſentiment of this tendency is entertained by the Catholic body; none ſuch belong to them; they renounce them; they utterly diſclaim them."—There is not a claſs of his majeſty's ſubjects more attached then they are to the monarchy and hereditary ſucceſſion, more obedient to the laws, or more devoted to the king and conſtitution, as by law eſtabliſhed.

Theſe principles they teſtify by their conduct at all times, at times very different from the preſent, when the laws were leſs indulgent, when they had fewer pledges to bind them to their

their country; when property and the titles of land did not appear (as they now do) irrevocably fixed; at times when hoſtile fleets and armies were on your coaſts, and when even the king on the throne, by ſome may not have been ſuppoſed to ſtand (as he does now) without a rival in their affections.

They now come forward by ſolemn declaration to re-aſſert thoſe principles at the foot of the throne; to vindicate them from all poſſible miſconception or miſrepreſentation; they approach you by the ways of the conſtitution, and with the word of the conſtitution, without aſſerting a claim of their own, or preſuming to dictate to the authority of Parliament: "They deſire a further repeal of the laws affecting them; they expreſs gratitude for paſt favours, confiding in your liberality and benevolence, that your future ones will be as extenſive as to your conſideration of the general welfare ſhall ſeem expedient; diſclaiming every thing that can directly or indirectly tend to interrupt the public tranquillity and ſubjection to the laws; they gave you their paſt as a pledge of their future good conduct;" and, give me leave to ſay, the conſtitutional language they expreſs, is a further pledge of the conſtitutional principles they feel.

With ſuch a teſtimony, I addreſs you in favour of the Roman Catholics of Ireland; with a declaration of this import in my hand, ſubſcribed by an hoſt, as to national authority; perſons of high diſtinction, ancient family, great character, enlightened education, ample fortune, and extenſive influence in the country; men of general intercourſe and knowledge, political, profeſſional, and mercantile; men too, who themſelves and their anceſtors, have made ample ſacrifices to a ſanctimonious obſervance of their vows. Without affecting or entertaining any diſreſpect for any other orders or claſſes of the people, I muſt ſay, it is from perſons of the deſcription which I have given, that national opinion and profeſſional principle are beſt to be collected; not from

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a few deluded people in the South; not from a few diſſatisfied people in the North; nor yet from any ſtrange and incongruous connexion that may be fabricated between both; nay, if by ſome wonderful rotation theſe two extremities ſhould ever happen to meet; if by ſome monſtrous convulſion the two poles (if I may ſay ſo) far as they are aſunder, ſhould be brought into conjunction, they would not have force to diſturb the happy and temperate regions placed between, where the people enjoy equal days and indulgent heavens.

With ſuch a declaration of principles, by ſuch ſubſcribing parties, confirmed by the conduct of an hundred years, and atteſted by the experience and obſervation of every diſpaſſionate Proteſtant in the nation; I ſay, fortified by ſuch ſuperior authority, I feel a total indifference to all the ſeveral paragraphs and publications to which I have alluded, from the maſſy-pamphlet to the volatile hand-bill; from the original enrollment of diſcord that takes poſt and garriſon in the citadel, to the detachments of newſpapers that are ſent out to ſecure the country. For the honour of the nation, I ſhould wiſh they were not to travel to other countries; for the peace of the nation, I am not afraid they ſhould travel through this. I know the loyalty of the Roman Catholics of Ireland; I know they will not taſte of the cup of ſedition, whether it be brought vapid and muddy from the troubled waters of Betheſda's pool; or come heated and mantling from the intemperance of the ale-houſe.

It is under ſuch a conviction that I addreſs you with confidence for a further repeal of the laws affecting the Roman Catholics, to that extent which your wiſdom and liberality ſhall lead you to think expedient. What that extent ſhall be, appears to me the only queſtion that can divide the opinion of parliament on this ſubject; and I confeſs, that is a

queſtion which may naturally produce diverſity of opinion amongſt wiſe and good men.

As for myſelf, balanced as I am between confidence in the Catholics and devotion to ancient eſtabliſhment, I have not found it eaſy to accommodate between the two contending propenſities.

If I were engaged in the unfortunate labours of forming a new conſtitution, it never would occur to my mind to introduce the words Proteſtant and Papiſt as terms of political diſcrimination. But as we have a conſtitution already eſtabliſhed, which we feel competent to preſerve liberty and to promote happineſs; and as we have learned from the experience of others the calamities that may occur in compoſing a new one, it muſt be our conſtant labour, as it is our deareſt intereſt, to watch with a pious vigilance, the excellent one we have, and protect it from the hand of innovation and experiment.——We muſt, in every political tranſaction, keep that conſtitution before our eyes, and act with perpetual reference to its principles.

Under that conſtitution the predominancy is Proteſtant.—It was ſo declared at the revolution—it was ſo provided in the acts ſettling the ſucceſſion of the crown—the king's coronation oath was enjoined in order to keep it ſo—the king, as firſt magiſtrate of the ſtate, was obliged to take the oath of abjuration, and ſubſcribe the declaration; and every other member of the ſtate, legiſlative and executive, ſtands bound under the ſame obligation.—Whether it was or was not wiſe at the time to have made ſo broad a barrier, I ſhall not, at this period, venture to enquire. I own to you, Sir, I tremble at the notion of reviewing, for the purpoſe of altering, any of the conſtituent principles of that revolution, which in its conſequences has proved ſo happy to theſe countries. I would not raſhly hazard the ſtability of ſo noble a fabric, to remove

remove even an acknowledged defect; and especially when the trade of constitution-making had grown into a sort of professional practice;—when we see academies opened throughout the country to give diplomas and degrees in that science;—and when, even without the advantage of this academical education, common artificers profess to reform the work of Somers and of Locke.

Though I should always hesitate to touch any principle of that revolution: though we should look up to it as to a polar star, by which we are to steer in whatsoever direction we may shape our course, yet I am not so dogmatical as to say that there is any human institution so immutable and entire, as never, in any degree, to accommodate to any possible change of the times and circumstances; and it has always been my decided opinion, that the severities with which party prejudice and religious animosity inspired the penal statutes that succeeded the revolution, are fit objects of frequent revision, for the purpose of repeal or mitigation, in the proportion and to that extent which the temper and condition of the times may render practicable or prudent.—However in such remedial proceedings, it is essential to the good of every state to avoid violent transitions or changes—to guard against sudden or extravagant transfers of power or property.

In endeavouring to ascertain the particular points of relaxation which it would be prudent for me to submit to the wisdom of parliament, I made it my business to solicit a communication with as many members of the legislature as I could, without presumption, consult on the subject.—You, Sir, who know every thing, know that every such consultation which has success for its object, must be conducted and concluded by mutual deference, and concession of opinion. I should not be sincere in my services to the Roman Catholics, if I were to hazard every thing by aspiring at more than appeared to me to be conformable to the sense of those

who are to decide, and to whoſe judgment I am bound to ſubmit. I therefore, under that impreſſion, confine myſelf to the following points:

1ſt. "I would give them the practice and profeſſion of the law," as a reaſonable proviſion, and application of their talents to their own country.—2dly. I would reſtore to them education, entire and unreſtrained—becauſe I think a ſtate of ignorance is a ſtate of barbarity. This I think would be accompliſhed by taking off the neceſſity for a licence as enjoined by the act of 1782.—3dly, I would draw cloſer the bonds of intercourſe and affection, by allowing intermarriage, and repealing that cruel ſtatute that ſerves to betray female credulity, and baſtardiſe the children of a virtuous mother.—4thly. I would remove thoſe obſtructions to arts and manufactures, that limit the number of apprentices, which are ſo neceſſary to aſſiſt and promote trade.

I have now, Sir, only to aſk your pardon for having taken up ſo much of your time; but the ſubject has engaged my mind with ſo much ardour and affection, that I could not avoid ſpeaking thus largely upon it. It is a ſubject that I embraced in my youth, and ſhall not caſt off in my age, unleſs it ſhall be diſpoſed to deſert me. I wiſh the Proteſtants and Catholics ſhould, by the benignant progreſs of time, grow to be one people; and they certainly would, if ſome raſh intemperance does not interpoſe to retard the progreſs, and revive the prejudices which have ſo long kept us aſunder. If the Roman Catholics look to their old friends, they will ſee them prove their ſincerity, by labouring in practicable ſervices, rather than deluding their hopes by the magnitude of demand. I am confident they will liſten to their old friends, and that the patient magnanimity which diſtinguiſhed and dignified them in times of rigour, will not deſert them in times of relaxation. They may be aſſured that a perſeverance in that conduct can alone give their old friends a capacity

a capacity to ſerve them. And they may likewiſe be aſſured, (whatever miſrepreſentations have gone abroad) that it is owing to the ſeaſonable interpoſitions of thoſe high authorities of Catholic loyalty to which I have alluded, confronting the publications that traduced their principles, that the favourable ſentiments in his majeſty's government are confirmed. It is owing to that teſtimony, that I, the humbleſt, but the oldeſt of their friends, have the confidence or capacity to plead their cauſe of this day; and it is a teſtimony, I truſt, will be a powerful advocate for them with the Iriſh parliament. At preſent I ſhall only move you—

"That leave be given to bring in a bill for removing cer-
"tain reſtraints and diſabilities under which his majeſty's
"Roman Catholic ſubjects labour, from ſtatutes at preſent in
"force."

After ſome debate, leave was given to bring in the bill which was accordingly done on the 4th of February following.—The heads of this bill were as follows.

Roman Catholic Bill.

"WHEREAS by an act paſſed in this kingdom in the ſixth year of Queen Anne, entitled, 'An act to explain and amend an act to prevent Papiſts being ſolicitors,' and by another act paſſed in this kingdom in the firſt year of King George the Second, entitled, 'An act for regulating the admiſſion of barriſters at law, ſix clerks and attorneys, and of other perſons into offices and employments, and for preventing Papiſts practiſing as ſolicitors, and for further ſtrengthening the Proteſtant intereſt in this kingdom,' it is required, that every perſon who ſhall apply to be called to the bar or to be admitted an attorney, ſhall, before ſuch an application or admiſſion, or taking upon them to practiſe as aforeſaid, take and ſubſcribe the ſeveral oaths, and repeat and

and ſubſcribe the declaration in and by the ſaid acts reſpectively mentioned or directed.

"And whereas it is deemed expedient to enable his Majeſty's ſubjects of Ireland, profeſſing the Roman Catholic religion, to become barriſters at law, and to practiſe as attornies, ſolicitors and notaries, upon their taking the oath of allegiance herein after mentioned.

"Be it enacted, by the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, by and with the advice and conſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in this preſent parliament aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame, that the oaths and declaration in and by the acts reſpectively required to be taken and ſubſcribed by every perſon who ſhall be admitted or practiſe as a counſellor or barriſter at law, attorney, ſolicitor or notary, ſhall, from and after the twenty-fourth day of June, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety two, be no longer required to be taken or ſubſcribed by any perſon profeſſing the Roman Catholic religion, as a qualification to enable him to be admitted to the bar, or to act as an attorney, ſolicitor or notary; but the oath of allegiance appointed to be taken and ſubſcribed, by an act paſſed in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of his preſent majeſty's reign, entitled 'An act to enable his Majeſty's ſubjects of whatever perſuaſion to teſtify their allegiance to him,' ſhall, from and after the ſaid twenty-fourth day of June, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-two, be adminiſtered, taken and ſubſcribed to and by perſons profeſſing the Roman Catholic religion, to be admitted barriſters and to practiſe as attornies, ſolicitors and notaries, have the ſame effect and operation to all intents and purpoſes, as the taking and ſubſcribing of the oath and declaration, in the room of which the ſame is hereby ſubſtituted, could have had, any law to the contrary notwithſtanding. Provided always, that nothing herein contained ſhall extend to enable or qualify any perſon to hold or enjoy the place or office of King's counſel. "And

" And whereas by an act paſſed in this kingdom in the ſixth year of Queen Anne, it is enacted, 'that no attorney or ſolicitor ſhall take, keep or have any Papiſt or reputed Papiſt to be his apprentice or clerk'

" Be it enacted, that it ſhall and may be lawful to and for any attorney or ſolicitor to have, keep or employ as an apprentice or clerk any perſon profeſſing the Roman Catholic religion, who ſhall have previouſly duly taken and ſubſcribed in his Majeſty's Court of King's bench the ſaid oath of allegiance ſet out in this ſaid act of the thirteenth and fourteenth years of the reign of his preſent Majeſty, and that from the paſſing of this act, the words following, (to wit) 'and that I will not knowingly take an apprentice or employ as clerk or ſolicitor any perſon of the Popiſh religion,' ſhall be omitted in the oath required by an act paſſed in the ſeventh year of the reign of King George the Second, entitled, 'An act for the amendment of the law in relation to Popiſh ſolicitors, and for remedying other miſchiefs in relation to the practitioners in the ſeveral courts of law, required to be taken by every maſter in Chancery, ſix clerk of the Court of Chancery, barriſter at law, attorney and officer of any of the courts in Dublin, and every deputy of ſuch officer and every ſolicitor.'

" And whereas by the ſaid laſt mentioned act, it is enacted, that if any perſon admitted a barriſter, attorney or ſolicitor, ſhall marry any woman of the popiſh religion, ſuch perſon ſhall be deemed a papiſt, and be diſabled from being a barriſter, attorney or ſolicitor

" Be it enacted, that ſo much of the ſaid recited act be, and the ſame is hereby repealed, and that every perſon ſo married or marrying, being otherwiſe duly entitled, may, notwithſtanding ſuch marriage, continue or be admitted to practiſe as a barriſter, attorney or ſolicitor.

" And

"And whereas by an act paſſed in the firſt year of the reign of King George the Second, entitled, 'An act for regulating the admiſſion of barriſters at law, ſix clerks and attornies, and of other perſons into offices and employments: and for preventing Papiſts practiſing as ſolicitors, and for further ſtrengthening the Proteſtant intereſt in this *kingdom*,' it is enacted that every perſon converted from the Popiſh to the Proteſtant religion, or born of Popiſh parent or parents, who, from and after the firſt day of Auguſt, one thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty eight, ſhall apply to be called to the bar, or to be admitted a ſix clerk or attorney, or ſhall take upon him to practiſe as a ſolicitor, or to act as an officer or deputy officer as aforeſaid, ſhall upon ſuch application, or before taking on him to act or practiſe as aforeſaid, prove before the Lord Chancellor or the commiſſioner of the Great Seal, the two Chief Juſtices, the Chief Baron, the juſtices of the one bench and of the other, and the barons of his Majeſty's Court of Exchequer in Ireland for the time being, or any two or more of them (of which the Lord Chancellor or one of the commiſſioners of the Great Seal, or one of the ſaid Chief Juſtices, or the Chief Baron, for the time being, ſhall be one) by ſufficient witneſs or witneſſes upon oath, which they or any two of them are hereby authorized to adminiſter, that ſuch perſon has profeſſed himſelf and continued to be a Proteſtant for the ſpace of two years immediately before the time of making ſuch proof.

"Be it enacted, that ſo much of the ſaid act as is herein recited be and the ſame is hereby repealed.

"And whereas by an act paſſed in the twenty firſt and twenty-ſecond years of his preſent Majeſty, entitled, 'An act to regulate the admiſſion of barriſters at law,' it is enacted that no perſon ſhall be admitted to the degree of a barriſter at law, who ſhall not have been received and admitted into the ſociety of King's Inns as a ſtudent, five years previous to the

the time of his applying to be admitted to the ſaid degree; and it is alſo by the ſaid act further enacted, that no perſon ſhall be admitted into the ſaid ſociety as a ſtudent who ſhall not at the time of his admiſſion be of the Proteſtant religion.

"And whereas by the laſt recited clauſe perſons profeſſing the Popiſh religion were not capable of complying with or fulfilling ſuch previous qualification, to be admitted to the ſaid degree of barriſter at law,

"Be it enacted, by the authority aforeſaid, that all and every ſuch perſon or perſons profeſſing the Popiſh religion, who on or before the twenty-ſeventh day of June next, ſhall have performed every other requiſite enjoined by this or any other law or uſage to qualify them for being admitted to the degree of barriſter at law, may be admitted to the ſame on paying the uſual fees to ſaid ſociety, although he or they ſhall not have been admitted as ſtudent or ſtudents previous to the time of his or their applying to be admitted to ſaid degree; and that, from and after the paſſing this act, ſo much of the ſaid laſt recited act as enacts, that no perſon ſhall be admitted into the ſaid ſociety as a ſtudent, who ſhall not at the time of his admiſſion be of the Proteſtant religion, be and is hereby repealed.

"And whereas an act paſſed in the ninth year of King William the Third, entitled, 'An act to prevent Proteſtants intermarrying with Papiſts,' and whereas it is no longer neceſſary to continue the ſaid act in force,

"Be it therefore enacted that the ſaid act ſhall be, and the ſame is hereby repealed: Provided always that the repeal thereof ſhall not in any ſort affect any ſuit heretofore commenced and now depending, grounded on the ſaid act.

"And

"And be it further enacted, that ſo much of an act paſſed in this kingdom in the ſecond year of Queen Anne, entitled, 'An act to prevent the further growth of Popery,' as ſubjects Proteſtants intermarrying with Papiſts either within the kingdom or in parts without the kingdom, to the pains, penalties or diſabilities inflicted by the ſaid laſt-mentioned act of the ninth year of King William the Third, ſhall be, and the ſame are hereby repealed.

"Provided always, and be it enacted, that nothing herein contained ſhall extend or be conſtrued to extend to enable any Proteſtant who now is or hereafter ſhall be married to a Popiſh wife, to vote at any election of repreſentatives to ſerve in parliament, other than as they may by laws in being before the paſſing of this act.

"And be it further enacted, that it ſhall and may be lawful to and for Proteſtants and perſons profeſſing the Roman Catholic religion to intermarry, and to and for archbiſhops, biſhops and all perſons having lawful juriſdiction, to grant licenſes for marriages to be celebrated between Proteſtants and perſons profeſſing the Roman Catholic religion, and for Clergymen to publiſh the banns of marriage between ſuch perſons, and that clergymen of the eſtabliſhed church duly celebrating ſuch marriages ſhall not be liable to any pain, penalty or cenſure for celebrating the ſame, any law to the contrary notwithſtanding.

"And whereas it is not any longer neceſſary to continue an act paſſed in the ſeventh year of the reign of King William the Third, entitled, 'An act to reſtrain foreign education,'

"Be it enacted, that the ſame act be and is hereby repealed.

"And whereas by an act paſſed in the twenty-firſt and twenty-ſecond years of his preſent majeſty's reign, entitled,

"An

"An act to allow perſons profeſſing the Popiſh religion to teach ſchools in this kingdom, and for regulating the education of Papiſts, and alſo to repeal parts of certain laws relative to the guardianſhip of their children,' it is required that any perſon of the Popiſh religion who ſhall teach or keep ſchool, ſhall firſt obtain the licenſe of the ordinary of the dioceſe, and whereas it is not expedient any longer to make ſuch licenſe neceſſary,

"Be it enacted, that it ſhall not, from the paſſing of this act, be neceſſary that the licenſe of the ordinary ſhall be obtained in order to authorize any perſon of the Roman Catholic religion to keep or teach ſchool; provided always, that ſuch perſon ſhall in all other reſpects perform the requiſites required by, and conform himſelf to, the ſaid laſt-mentioned act.

"And whereas by an act paſſed in the eighth year of Queen Anne, entitled, 'An act for explaining and amending an act to prevent the further growth of Popery,' it is enacted that no Papiſt or Papiſts who are or ſhall be permitted to follow any trade, craft, ſhall keep more than two apprentices, and that for no leſs a term than ſeven years.

"Be it enacted that ſo much of the ſaid act be and is hereby repealed."

It was evidently the intention of the honourable member who introduced theſe heads, to allow the Roman Catholics, the practice and profeſſion of the law: to reſtore them to education entire and unreſtrained, and to allow intermarriage between the former and the Proteſtants, and finally to remove thoſe obſtructions to arts and manufactures that limited the member of apprentices, which are neceſſary to aſſiſt and promote Trade.—The objects however of this bill, ſeem'd not to meet entirely the wiſhes of the Roman Catholics, they look'd to a participation of the Elective Franchiſe,—and accordingly on the 18th February, Mr. Egan preſented a petition

a petition of the Roman Catholic committee—which he read as follows.

To the Right Hon. the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, in parliament aſſembled.

The PETITION of the underſigned ROMAN CATHOLICS, on behalf of themſelves and the Roman Catholics of Ireland,

Humbly ſheweth,

"That as the Houſe has thought it expedient to direct "their attention to the ſituation of the Roman Catholics of "Ireland, and to a further relaxation of the penal ſtatutes "ſtill ſubſiſting againſt them, they beg leave, with all hu- "mility, to come before the houſe with the moſt heartfelt "aſſurance of the wiſdom and juſtice of parliament, which is "at all times deſirous moſt graciouſly to attend to the peti- "tions of the people; they therefore humbly preſume to "ſubmit to the houſe their entreaty, that they ſhould take "into their conſideration whether the removal of ſome of "the civil incapacities under which they labour, and the "reſtoration of the petitioners to ſome ſhare in the elective "franchiſe, which they enjoyed long after the revolution, "will not tend to ſtrengthen the Proteſtant ſtate, add new "vigour to induſtry, and afford protection and happineſs to "the Catholics of Ireland; that the petitioners refer with "confidence to their conduct for a century paſt, to prove "their uniform loyalty and ſubmiſſion to the laws, and to "corroborate their ſolemn declaration, that if they obtain "from the juſtice and benignity of parliament, ſuch relaxa- "tion from certain incapacities, and a participation in that "franchiſe which will raiſe them to the rank of freemen, their "gratitude muſt be proportioned to the benefit, and that en- "joying ſome ſhare in the happy conſtitution of Ireland, they "will *exert* themſelves with additional *zeal* in its conſerva- "tion."

he

The privileges ſought by this petition were eventually refuſed, but the bill granting ſuch indulgences as before ſtated, after conſiderable debate in Committee, paſſed the houſe of Commons on the 24th February, and was tranſmitted to the Lords.—It would exceed the limits to which this work is confined, were the many able arguments here ſtated, which were offer'd both for and againſt this bill; but the following conciſe and elegant ſpeech of Mr. Smyth,* cannot be deem'd unworthy of ſelection.—

"Relaxed, (ſaid he) "and exhauſted from a variety of cauſes, which it would arrogant in me to trouble the Houſe by ſtating, it was not my attention to have obtruded upon you this night, but from the turn which the debate has latterly taken; I feel it my duty, before it concludes, to ſolicit the permiſſion of the Houſe to ſubmit to them very briefly my humble thoughts upon the principle of the preſent bill. From the line of my profeſſion I have, Sir, upon ſeveral occaſions, been forced into an intimate conſideration of that code of laws diſtinguiſhed by the name of Popery laws; by which means I became enabled to form, and am, I think, now not altogether incompetent to deliver a tolerably adequate opinion of their nature and their character. Sir, I never read them but with horror, nor reflected upon them but with a mingled ſenſation of ſorrow and of ſhame. I hailed the relaxation of them as the auſpicious dawn, and I looked, and do look, to their utter and final abrogation, as to the meridian glory of my country's welfare and proſperity.

Impreſt with theſe ſentiments, I could not but rejoice when the honourable baronet, who firſt moved this bill, introduced it into the Houſe; and I inſtantly determined, if neceſſary, to give it my feeble, though beſt ſupport; while at the ſame time I fondly hoped that being, as I deemed it, in its nature highly expedient, in its conceſſions extremely moderate, and in its conſequences likely to be eminently

* Now Sir Michael Smyth, Bt. Maſter of the Rolls.

nently ſalutary, it would not only eſcape every thing like angry oppoſition, but paſs into a law in all the dignity of unanimous and univerſal approbation.

The objects which this bill embraces are but few; it propoſes to admit our Roman Catholic brethren into the profeſſion and practice of the law in all its various departments; to enable them alſo to eſtabliſh literary ſeminaries and academies for the inſtruction and education of their own youth; and to permit intermarriages of Proteſtants and Roman Catholics; with ſome ſubordinate proviſions, on which I mean not at preſent to trouble the Houſe with my obſervations. As to the firſt and ſecond of theſe meaſures, juſtice and humanity, as well as ſound policy, forbid all reſiſtance to them. We all know that arts and ſciences, like ſoils, are beſt improved by culture; nor is the proſperity of a nation more marked by the number and induſtry of its citizens, than the perfection of ſcience is enſured by the multitude and competition of its ſtudents and its votaries. Juſt Heaven! Sir, is the "ample page of knowledge" to be with-held for ever from our Roman Catholic fellow citizens? As to them, are the ſacred fountains of ſcience and of truth to be for ever dried up? Is more, much more, than half the genius of the land to be condemned to pine and languiſh in obſcurity for ever? for ever to

"——————bluſh unſeen,
"And waſte its ſweetneſs on the deſart air?"

Or is it to be for ever baniſhed from our hoſpitable ſhores, to ſeek a wretched aſylum in ſome diſtant land, until happily at length impelled and elevated by its native energy, it may ſerve to dignify ſome foreign court, or to illuminate ſome other hemiſphere? Forbid it, Heaven! Forbid it, the juſtice and humanity of my country! Forbid it, every motive, and every principle that ought to ſway the human heart, or guid the human intellect! No, Sir, we will admit our Roman Catholic brethren into the profeſſion of the law; we will

will receive them with open arms; we will enable and encourage them to qualify for that important ſtation; we will contend and ſtruggle with them in the honeſt and honourable purſuits of fortune and of fame; and if vanquiſhed in the ſtrife, we will join with the ſurrounding world in admiring thoſe talents which, though we could not equal, we dared to emulate.

With reſpect to the intermarriages of Proteſtants and Roman Catholics, I feel aſſured it is a meaſure that can never meet reſiſtance within thoſe walls. In a country eminently diſtinguiſhed by the beauty of its women and gallantry of its men, ſhall it be adjudged criminal to admire that, from whoſe

" ——— Every ſtep is grace,
" And every geſture dignity and love!"

Shall it be deemed a breach of allegiance to pay homage to beauty? Shall loyalty be ſet at variance with nature? Shall our gracious ſovereign be forced to diſpute titles with the " mighty monarch of the human heart?" And ſhall love in Ireland, ſhall love be made little leſs than high treaſon by law? Why, Sir, the puniſhment of Tantalus was mercy to this. Such horrid laws find their remedy in their impotence; their cruelty defeats and deſtroys their effect, and they become inoperative, becauſe they are unnatural. Where God and nature enjoy admiration and eſteem, it is vain, as well as ſinful, in law to prohibit union. The inſtinctive paſſions of the human heart will force their way in ſpite of every cruel effort to check or to ſubdue them; and when indulged, when virtuouſly and honourably indulged, gracious Heaven! ſhall all their holy joys, ſhall all their ſacred and myſterious raptures be, by a mercileſs law, converted into pains and penalties? Shall the nuptial torch ſerve only to light its unoffending, yet unhappy, votaries to their temporal undoing? And ſhall the doating huſband be forced to contemplate, in the perſon of his lovely wife, the fatal drag,

caſt

caſt upon his honeſt ambition; the beauteous, innocent, pitiable burthen that is to weigh him down in life, and mar his fortune and his fame for ever?

Away with ſuch abominable laws! Away with ſuch ſavage legiſlation; and away, for ever away with ſuch miſchievous and ſuch mercileſs policy. Let us, I conjure the houſe by the ſacred names of charity and benevolence! Let us maintain the cauſe and aſſert the honeſt, virtuous claims of nature. Let us adjure all tyranny over the human heart, and vindicate and protect theſe amiable and irreſiſtible attachments which are the prime ſources, not only of all domeſtic happineſs, but alſo of all national ſtrength, proſperity, and glory. Let us once more throw wide the golden gates of hallowed love, and let hymeneal ſongs and the ſympathetic murmurs of united hearts render "our groves harmonious."

I fear I have treſpaſſed on the attention of the houſe too long, and ſhall therefore haſten to conclude; but before I reſume my ſeat, let me in the moſt ſolemn, yet in the moſt ſuppliant manner, entreat of thoſe gentlemen who may be apprehenſive of the conſequence of the preſent bill, that while they regard, with a ſteady eye, the Proteſtant intereſt, they do not overlook the Roman Catholic virtue; that is, in their anxiety to preſerve what is called the Proteſtant aſcendancy, they forget not to alleviate the Roman Catholic grievances; ſo that while one party ſhall be happy in the poſſeſſion of prerogative, the other may be contented in the participation of privilege; always remembering that kindneſs on the one hand, will not, cannot fail of producing gratiude on the other; until, after a lengthened period of mutual harmony, cordiality, and affection, that happy moment, ſo much, ſo devoutly to be wiſhed for by every real friend of this country, ſhall arrive, when the divided names of Proteſtant and Roman Catholic ſhall be heard no more, but mellowed and melted away—ſhall finally loſe themſelves in the more endearing, glorious, and divine appellations of friend, brother, and fellow Chriſtian.

CHAP-

CHAP. IX.

Addreſs on behalf of the Roman Catholics to the Lord Lieutenant.—Reſolutions and proceedings of the Catholic body.—motion of Mr. Ponſonby reſpecting the Trade of Ireland.—Speaker's addreſs on preſenting the money bills.—Concluſion of the ſeſſion.—Lord Lieutenant's ſpeech.—Seſſion of 1793.—Debates reſpecting parliamentary reform—the like concerning volunteers.

ON the 27th of December 1791, the following addreſs on behalf of the Roman Catholics was preſented to the Lord Lieutenant.

To his Excellency John, Earl of Weſtmoreland, Lord Lieutenant, General and General Governor of Ireland.

We, the undernamed, his Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, Roman Catholics of the kingdom of Ireland, deſirous at all times to declare unequivocally our ſentiments of loyalty to our moſt gracious Sovereign, and our attachment to the Conſtitution, diſclaiming every word or act which can directly or indirectly tend to alarm the minds of our brethren, or diſturb the tranquillity of this country, have, in order to prevent miſrepreſentation or miſconception of our ſentiments, thought it neceſſary now to lay before your Excellency the reſolutions hereunto annexed.

We confide in your Excellency's goodneſs, that you will be pleaſed to repreſent us to our moſt gracious Sovereign, ſuch as we really are, grateful for the mild and benevolent diſpoſition he has been always graciouſly pleaſed to ſhew toward us.

We rely with confidence on our paſt as a pledge for our future good conduct, and as we feel moſt ſtrongly the benefits that have ariſen not only to us in particular, but to this kingdom in general, from the indulgence which, through the wiſdom of the legiſlature, we have already received, ſo we look with reſpectful confidence to its wiſdom, liberality, and benevolence, for a further extenſion of its favours.

Reſolved, that application be made to the legiſlature during the next ſeſſion of parliament, for a further repeal of the laws affecting the Roman Catholics of Ireland.

Reſolved, That grateful for former conceſſions, we do not preſume to point out the meaſure or extent to which ſuch repeal ſhould be carried, but leave the ſame to the wiſdom and diſcretion of the legiſlature, fully confiding in their liberality and benevolence, that it will be as extenſive as the circumſtances of the times and the general welfare of the Empire ſhall, in their conſideration, render prudent and expedient.

Reſolved, That firmly attached to our moſt gracious Sovereign and the conſtitution of the kingdom, and anxiouſly deſirous to promote tranquillity and ſubjection to the laws, we will ſtudiouſly avoid all meaſures which can either directly or indirectly tend to diſturb or impede the ſame, and will rely on the wiſdom and benevolence of the legiſlature, as the ſource from which we deſire to obtain a further relaxation of the above-mentioned laws.

This

This addreſs was ſigned.

FINGAL, GORMANSTOWN, KENMARE, J. TROY, D. D. R. Cath. A. D. Hon. J. Preſton, Gormanstown, Co. Meath,—Valentine Browne, Killarney, Co. Kerry, Sir Patrick Bellew, Bart. Barmeath, Co. Louth,—Sir, Thomas Eſmond, Bart. Co. Wexford,

And by above 40 others, of like reſpectability.

The general wish of the Catholics went farther than this addreſs expreſſes: they deſired to be put complately on a like footing with Proteſtant ſubjects, and the addreſs was cenſured at ſeveral public meetings, particularly by the General Committee of the Roman Catholics; who on the 14th of January, 1792, publiſhed the following reſolutions.

1. That an addreſs be preſented to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to requeſt his Excellency to certify to his Majeſty, the ardent, zealous, and loyal attachment of the Roman Catholics of this kingdom to his Majeſty's perſon and government, and to lay before his Majeſty the motives which have induced us to withhold our ſignatures from a certain paper, purporting to be an addreſs to the Lord Lieutenant, with reſolutions annexed, and preſented to his Excellency by Lord *Kenmare*, on the 27th December, to explain at large to his Majeſty the circumſtances of that whole tranſaction.

2. That it is the opinion of this Committee that many or moſt of the perſons who ſigned the ſaid addreſs, being ignorant of ſeveral collateral and antecedent circumſtances, could not poſſibly apprehend the real drift and object thereof, and conſequently that the addreſs was ſurreptitiouſly obtained.

3. That the ſaid addreſs (under pretence of ſatisfying unfounded alarms, and a ſuppoſed uneaſineſs in the public mind, which had no real exiſtence) was fabricated for the

purpoſe of throwing imputations of faction and turbulence on this Committee, for refuſing to diſavow a publication in which this Committee were not concerned, and principles of ſedition which that publication did not contain, and with which the Roman Catholics of this kingdom never have been tainted.

4. That the ſaid addreſs, replete with ambiguous expreſſions, was alſo intended, obliquely and inſidiouſly, to convey an opinion that this Committee was not compoſed of men of property and reſpectable gentlemen of our perſuaſion, but of low and factious perſons, not really repreſenting the conſequence, or ſpeaking the voice of the Roman Catholics of this kingdom.

5. That the ſaid implications, both equally falſe, are highly prejudicial to the intereſts of the Roman Catholics, and to the Community at large, as rendering it difficult to aſcertain which, whom, or on what principles to deal with the Roman Catholics, from the uncertainty of who is, or who is not entitled to ſpeak their voice.

6. That the ſaid addreſs was likewiſe the organ of another deſign of a ſtill more dangerous tendency, viz. to convey a falſe impreſſion to the nation, the parliament, and the King himſelf, concerning the true ſtate, the real wants, the temper and diſpoſitions of this great body of his Majeſty's faithful and loyal ſubjects; things moſt neceſſary to be known, and duly attended to by every wiſe government.

7. That this deſperate and complicated ſtratagem was ſtill farther aggravated by laying a trap for the loyalty of our body, and coming forward under cover of an addreſs to his Majeſty, which being the natural channel of communication between King and people, ought ever to be preſerved ſacred and violate from all fraud and deceit.

8. That

8. That another object of the promoters of the ſaid addreſs, was to form diviſions, and to diſſeminate diſcord among the Roman Catholics, in order to obſtruct their emancipation; a project which has, for ſome time paſt, been carried on with great art and induſtry, which has more particularly appeared in the moſt pernicious and dangerous attempt to ſeduce the Roman Catholic Clergy from the Laity, and ſet them at variance.

9. That the devices concealed in the ſaid addreſs, and many other proceedings of a ſimilar nature, only render it more incumbent on the Committee to continue its exertions to procure the repeal of laws, which gratify, but do not allay, the animoſity of our adverſaries, and which, inſtead of co-operation, procure us enemies, even in the companions of our afflictions.

10. That tho' the Roman Catholics of this kingdom labour under many and ſeveral reſtrictions, they are not, and never were, deprived of all their rights.

11. That it is not only the undoubted right, but alſo the bounden duty, of all the ſubjects of this realm, by petition to parliament, both to point out their own particular grievances, but alſo offer their opinions to the legiſlature, concerning the intereſts and general policy of the kingdom.

12. That a proper mode be adopted to call the attention of parliament to the grievances of the Roman Catholics, and to point out the meaſures and extent, to which it is expedient and neceſſary to relieve them from the reſtrictions and diſqualifications under which they labour.

13. That it is declared by a ſtatute paſſed in the 17th and 18th of his preſent Majeſty, as follows, viz. "It muſt *add* to the cultivation and improvement of this kingdom, but to the proſperity and ſtrength of all his Majeſty's dominions, that

that his ſubjects of all denomination would enjoy the bleſſings of our free Conſtitution.

14. That notwithſtanding the aforeſaid declaration, the Roman Catholics of this kingdom, neither having, nor being able to acquire, any right or privilege, franchiſe, elective or repreſentative, are wholly excluded and ſeparated out of, and from the high Court of Parliament, to have any Knights or Burgeſſes within the ſaid Commons; and for as much as the ſaid Roman Catholics have always hitherto been bound by the acts and ſtatutes made in the ſame Court, they have oftentimes ſuſtained manifold loſſes and damages, and have been grieved with acts and ſtatutes made within the ſaid Court, as well derogatory to their liberties and privileges, as prejudicial to the politic government and maintenance of the Common Weal.

15. That an humble and dutiful repreſentation be made to Parliament, that in conformity to the above cited declaration, that capital grievance, the cauſe of every other, be alleviated or finally done away.

Signed by order.

RICHARD M'CORMICK, Sec.

We may perceive from theſe publications the difference of opinion amongſt the Roman Catholic body in political points —the ſubject therefore of elective franchiſe remained for future diſcuſſion.—But what has been already ſtated were not the only matters of importance which came under enquiry during the ſeſſion we now ſpeak of—the trade of Ireland alſo engaged its attention:—We ſhall ſtate this buſineſs conciſely in the words of a modern writer.

* "When Ireland (ſaid he) aſſerted her right to trade with the whole world, there was no reſervation made with regard

* View of Iriſh affairs, Vol. IId.

regard to India. We might have proceeded directly to thoſe wealthy regions, had we not reſtrained ourſelves by our revenue law. Laſt ſeſſion the attention of the houſe was drawn to this important queſtion. It was clearly proved that Ireland paid upwards of 500,000l. a year to England for India goods alone; but this year, the reaſons for aſſerting our right were ſtronger than they were laſt; inaſmuch, as the miniſter was to ſettle this bargain with the Eaſt India company, which, if he was permitted to do without any claim being made on the part of Ireland, it might be alledged that we had tacitly renounced our rights in favour of the Eaſt India company.

In order to obviate ſuch conſtructions, and thereby to open a direct trade between this country and India, Mr. Ponſonby moved, for leave to bring in a bill, to repeal every law which prohibited a trade from Ireland to the countries lying Eaſtward of the Cape of Good Hope.

When we had obtained the free trade in the year 1779, the Indian trade was omitted, it was alſo omitted in the year 1782. In 1783 and 1784, Mr. Corry with that zeal and integrity which have ever marked his character in the ſervice of his country, moved for a committee to take into conſideration the Eaſt India trade; and the right of the country was in conſequence acknowledged. But Mr. Corry did not preſs the buſineſs any farther, clearly perceiving he had not ſupport to carry it into effect.

Our right to the trade being thus eſtabliſhed; it was conceived to be moſt prudent to accede to a temporary relinquiſhment of the exerciſe of it. The trade to China was conceived to be the worſt for a country ſituated like this, which required a quick return, and not the very ſlow one, which a trade that requires a navigation equal to the circumference of the globe would yield. Such is the trade of China.

It

It was not a trade that exported manufacture and brought home money, nor even a trade which exchanged manufacture for manufacture, but a trade which required an export of money, and a return of manufacture, and that too the ſloweſt poſſible return.

Doctor Adam Smith, who may be conſidered one of the firſt political writers of the age, is of opinion, that it would be better for a country of ſmall capital, to buy for ſome time even at an high price from other European nations, the Eaſt India goods it had occaſion for, than to import them directly from the Eaſt Indies.

What it might loſe by the high price of theſe goods, he ſays could ſeldom be equal to the loſs which it would ſuſtain by the deſtruction of a large portion of its capital from other employments, more neceſſary, or more ſuitable to its circumſtances and ſituation than a direct trade to India. Mr. Ponſonby's motion fell to the ground, on which occaſion he declared that he never would vote with any adminiſtration until this, and the other meaſures to which he and the gentlemen with whom he acted, were pledged, ſhould be obtained.

On the 25th of May, 1792, the Speaker preſenting the money bills for the royal aſſent, ſpoke as follows.

" *May it pleaſe your Excellency,*

" The Commons of Ireland attend with the ſupplies.

" While they may look back with a conſcious pride to their ſpirited and ſucceſsful meaſures for preventing an increaſe of the national debt, as one great cauſe of the extenſion of trade, agriculture and manufactures, which has with a rapid and uninterrupted progreſs raiſed this kingdom to a ſtate of proſperity and wealth never before experienced in it, they know that the continuance of that proſperity would ſoon

ſoon ceaſe if it were not cheriſhed and maintained by our moſt excellent conſtitution, in which liberty and order are ſo happily blended that every ſubject equally enjoys their influence, and feels his perſon, his induſtry and property, equally and effectually protected by it.

"Its preſervation therefore muſt ever be the great object of their care, and there is no principle on which it is founded ſo eſſential to its preſervation, nor more juſtly dear to their patriotic and loyal feelings, than that which has ſettled the throne of theſe realms on his Majeſty's illuſtrious houſe; on it, and on the proviſions for ſecuring a Proteſtant parliament, depends the Proteſtant aſcendancy, and with it the continuance of the many bleſſings we now enjoy.

"The bills which I hold contain the uſual grants, and I have the moſt ſincere happineſs in preſenting them to your Excellency, whoſe knowledge of the true intereſts of Ireland, and whoſe anxiety to promote its welfare, has been proved to us by the firmeſt vigilance, and prudence of your adminiſtration.

Theſe ſupplies are contained in the bills which I have the honour of preſenting to your Excellency for the royal aſſent."

On the 18th of April following the parliament was prorogued to the 18th of June next—The Lord Lieutenant cloſed the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen*,

"The diſpatch you have given to the national buſineſs enables me to cloſe the ſeſſion, and to relieve you from further attendance in parliament.

"*Gentlemen*

"*Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,*

"His Majeſty commands me to thank you for the ſupplies you have voted for the public ſervice; you may depend upon their faithful application to the purpoſes for which they were granted.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"I have his Majeſty's commands to expreſs his approbation of the wiſdom that has guided your proceedings during the preſent ſeſſion, eſpecially in the liberal indulgences you have afforded to your Roman Catholic brethren, by eſtabliſhing the legality of intermariage, by admitting them to the profeſſion of the law, and the benefits of education, and by removing all reſtrictions upon their induſtry in trade and manufactures.

"Your knowledge of the true intereſts of your country is plainly marked in the meaſure you have adopted, for carrying into effect a reciprocal preference in the corn trade with Great Britain, a ſyſtem beneficial to both countries, and peculiarly advantageous to the agriculture of Ireland, that ſource of your wealth and proſperity. The further ſteps you have taken to check the immoderate uſe of ſpirituous liquors, and your wiſe regulations for the charitable inſtitutions, prove your attention to the intereſts of the lower orders of the people.

"I ſhall firmly rely on your cordial co-operation for the ſupport of public order, and the enforcing obedience to the laws, by which alone the fruits of national induſtry can be ſecured; and when you reflect upon the flouriſhing reſources, the encreaſing wealth and unexampled proſperity of the country, you will not fail to impreſs upon the minds of the people, that the maintenance of our free and happy conſtitution will enſure the continuance of theſe invaluable bleſſings."

On

On the 10th of January 1793, Parliament again aſſembled, when the Lord Lieutenant open'd the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech.

" *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

" I have his Majeſty's commands to meet you in parliament, and to expreſs his ſatisfaction in reſorting to your councils in the preſent ſituation of affairs.

" His Majeſty feels the utmoſt concern that various attempts ſhould have been made to excite a ſpirit of diſcontent and diſturbance, and that appearances ſhould have manifeſted themſelves in any part of this kingdom, of a deſign to effect by violence an alteration in the conſtitution.

" It is an additional ground of uneaſineſs to his Majeſty that views of conqueſt and dominion ſhould have incited France to interfere with the government of other countries, and to adopt meaſures with regard to his Majeſty's allies, the States General, neither conformable to the law of nations nor the poſitive ſtipulations of exiſting treaties, eſpecially when both his Majeſty and the States General had obſerved the ſtricteſt neutrality with regard to the affairs of France.

" Under theſe circumſtances I have ordered, by his Majeſty's commands, an augmentation of the forces upon this eſtabliſhment.

" By the advice of the privy council, meaſures have been taken to prevent the exportation of corn, proviſions, and *naval ſtores*, arms and ammunition. The circumſtances which rendered theſe meaſures neceſſary, will, I truſt, juſtify any temporary infringement of the laws, and will induce you to give them a parliamentary ſanction.

" It

"It will afford his Majeſty the greateſt ſatisfaction, if, by a temperate and firm conduct, the bleſſings of peace can be continued; but he feels aſſured of your zealous concurrence in his determination to provide for the ſecurity and intereſts of his dominions, and to fulfil thoſe poſitive engagements to which he is equally bound by the honour of his crown and the general intereſts of the empire.

"*Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,*

"I have ordered the national accounts to be laid before you, and I have no doubt of your readineſs to grant ſuch ſupplies for the public ſervice, as the honour and ſecurity of his Majeſty's crown and government, and the exigencies of the times, may require.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"The agriculture, the manufactures, and particularly the linen manufacture, the Proteſtant charter ſchools, and other public inſtitutions, which have ſo repeatedly been the objects of your care, will, I doubt not, engage your accuſtomed regard and liberality.

"I am to recommend to you, in his Majeſty's name, to adopt ſuch meaſures as may be moſt adviſeable for the maintenance of internal tranquillity, and for this purpoſe to render more effectual the law for eſtabliſhing a militia in this kingdom.

"His Majeſty has the fulleſt confidence that you will, on all occaſions, ſhew your firm determination to enforce due obedience to the laws, and to maintain the authority of government, in which you may depend upon his Majeſty's cordial co-operation and ſupport: and I have it in particular command from his majeſty to recommend it to you to apply yourſelves to the conſideration of ſuch meaſures as may be

moſt

moſt likely to ſtrengthen and cement a general union of ſentiment among all claſſes and deſcriptions of his Majeſty's ſubjects in ſupport of the eſtabliſhed conſtitution; with this view his Majeſty truſts that the ſituation of his Majeſty's Catholic ſubjects will engage your ſerious attention, and in the conſideration of this ſubject he relies on the wiſdom and liberality of his parliament.

"I am truly ſenſible of the repeated teſtimony which I have received of your approbation, and I will endeavour to merit a continuance of your good opinion, by ſtrenuouſly exerting the power with which I am entruſted for the maintenance of our excellent conſtitution in church and ſtate, as the beſt ſecurity for the liberty of the ſubject, and the proſperity of Ireland."

The buſineſs of parliamentary reform and Catholic emancipation, ſtill continued to engage the attention of parliament, and on January the 14th, 1793,

Mr. William Brabazon Ponſonby aroſe to ſolicit the attention of the Houſe. I believe (ſaid he) that every gentleman will agree with me, that this country now ſtands in a ſituation in which it never ſtood before; a ſituation certainly of much difficulty, and conſequently of ſome danger. I am ſure that no man can be more deſirous than I am, to give every conſtitutional ſupport to the crown for the benefit and defence of the country. I totally diſapprove of the wild and miſchievous doctrines which have of late found their way into this country; I diſlike republican principles, I deteſt republics, becauſe, from all the knowledge I have been able to acquire of the ancient republics, and that which I have of the exiſting republics of Europe, I am ſatisfied they are governments unfavourable to national liberty.

I hope

I hope to ſee a limited monarchy perpetuated in this country, as the beſt and wiſeſt government poſſible. I reflect with great concern on the abuſes of the conſtitution, and that every argument which has hitherto been uſed, and every effort which has been made to remedy them, has been treated with contempt by the miniſters of the crown. I cannot help obſerving that the adminiſtration of this country and that of England, (on which it depends,) has been ſo blind to its own intereſt, as to ſhew a total diſregard to the murmurs and complaints of an injured nation; their obſtinate perſeverance in this ſyſtem, will, in the end, induce meaſures in which they will be forced to acquieſce.

Every effort having hitherto proved ineffectual for the correction of theſe abuſes, we muſt now have recourſe to ſomething more radical and effectual. I ſhould be exceedingly ſorry indeed that any perſon ſhould conceive that I could, for a moment, harbour the idea of altering the conſtitution of this country; but in endeavouring to correct the abuſes, I am certain, I do not interfere with the principles of it, and under that conviction, I ſhall take an early opportunity of ſubmitting a propoſal to the houſe, for a more equal repreſentation of the people in parliament.

Mr. Conolly roſe, to declare the reſolution to ſupport the meaſure propoſed by his right honourable friend. In 1782, he obſerved, a propoſition of this kind came before the houſe, but it came from a body of armed men ſitting in the metropolis.—Such a propoſition from ſuch a body he would always think it right to reſiſt—becauſe the power of reforming the parliament reſided in the parliament itſelf: it was on that account he rejected the propoſal then. Since that period the public grievances had encreaſed very conſiderably—other remedies to heal them had been in vain attempted;—he would therefore recommend it to Government to turn their thoughts to that grand one—reform. When the

the houſe ſhould atchieve that, as he had no doubt but they would do, they would have attained the ſalvation of their country. The Catholics, he obſerved, require to be admitted into the conſtitution; if a reform were effected, it would be for the public good they ſhould be admitted; but while things continued in their preſent ſtate, it would be only making bad worſe.

Mr. Grattan. Never, never ſince I have ſat in parliament, did I hear words that gave me more ſatisfaction. I have been near ſeventeen years a member of parliament, and never did I hear in this houſe oratory more convincing or tranſporting. I feel myſelf young, and my mind poſſeſſed with rapture little known to men of my time of life, except on ſuch an occaſion as this. I had myſelf intended to have brought forth the queſtion of the reform of parliament, but I did not wiſh to pre-occupy ſuch a queſtion; for what right had I to earn popularity at the expence of other men? Thoſe are the gentlemen who ought to lead in this great queſtion;—the men who make the ſacrifices, to them belongs the laurel;—be it my humble office to follow on this ſubject, and to applaud,

"And while along the ſtream of time their name
"Expanded flies, and gathers all its fame,
"Say, ſhall this little bark——."

This is not the firſt time in which the right honourable gentleman has made ſacrifices to the country; in 1769 that gentleman, and all his connexions, were deprived of all their emoluments, for ſupporting the privileges of this houſe againſt an altered money bill. In 1789 they were alſo diſmiſſed, for defending the privileges of the two houſes of parliament againſt an unconſtitutional and condemned viceroy; and now they advance a third time to ſurrender great power, all their monopolies, and to embark in the veſſel

veſſel of the commonwealth, and fairly and proudly to riſe or fall with the fortunes of their country.—They place it right; their natural ſituation in this country is ſo conſiderable that whatever family ſacrifices they make to the public weal, they muſt always occupy a prime condition, from their property, character, integrity, and talents.

The queſtion of parliamentary reform is now fairly brought forth; it conſiſts, I think, of two parts, external and internal. The external relates to the creation of the houſe of Commons; the internal, to its corruption. A radical reformation in both is indiſpenſable; firſt, it is indiſpenſable that the houſe of Commons ſhould be choſen by the people; ſecond, that after it is choſen by the people, it ſhould not be bought by the miniſter. In either of theſe caſes, and ſtill more in both, the people are not repreſented. The houſe of Commons is not choſen by them; the houſe is governed by the miniſter. The people have not the bleſſings of the conſtitution;—they are not repreſented;—they are deprived of that great and invaluable bleſſing, ſuppoſed to be poſſeſſed by the electors of this kingdom, the bleſſing of being repreſented; and accordingly we find the Houſe of Commons the organ of a will other than that of the people—the will of the miniſter, the will of the viceroy, the will of the ſecretary, but not the will of the people. This is an abuſe ſo evident, and ſo fatal, that I need not impreſs it more deeply upon you; indeed you ſeem fully ſenſible of it; and now, when the perſons intereſted in the above come forth to you to ſurrender that intereſt, who can defend ſuch a miſchief, or refuſe ſuch a ſacrifice?—I mean, therefore, to move for a committee to inquire into the abuſes that obtain in the formation of the repreſentation; but as thoſe abuſes are not all I mean to extend the inquiry to, the abuſes that obtain in the corruption of that repreſentation, which are both contained in the words, abuſes of the conſtitution; it will not be ſufficient, depend upon it, that the

Houſe

Houſe of Commons ſhould be choſen by the people, it is abſolutely neceſſary that the houſe, after it is ſo choſen by the people, ſhould not be bought by the miniſter, otherwiſe the people would have only the trouble to elect men for the miniſter afterwards to purchaſe; and therefore it is, I wiſh to impreſs on gentlemen the neceſſity of attending to this part of the reform of parliament, its internal reform, on which the purity of its conduct depends. In vain may the people ſend men to parliament, fairly and popularly elected, if the miniſter has a power of giving thoſe men places and penſions without number, and without reſponſibility; or, as has been diſcloſed by one of our miniſters, a power of charging the nation with half a million, or any other ſum, however great, to purchaſe a majority in parliament; therefore do not imagine you have ſecured to the people an adequate, or any repreſentation, by giving them a fair and adequate right of choice, if you leave to the miniſter the uncontrolled and indefinite right of bribery: a place bill, penſion bill, reſponſibility bill, are therefore a neceſſary part of the great ſyſtem which you are proceeding to form for your country. The whole muſt be reformed by a radical meaſure. The nation expects it, and you have taught the nation to expect it. The meaſure muſt ſecure to the people of this country a repreſentation elected by the people, and independent of the miniſter; nothing leſs than that is worthy of the occaſion, nor adequate to the exigency or the expectation we muſt have in theſe walls, the real genuine choice of the people, unbought, unſtipulated. The motion therefore, which I mean to ſubmit, goes to this part of the ſubject, viz. to inquire into the abuſes which have taken place in the regulation of the houſe of Commons, as well as its formation; it goes to the whole of the houſe of Commons; exceſs of influence and defects of repreſentation. Gentlemen ſay, this is no time for ſuch a meaſure; I anſwer the argument of thoſe gentlemen who ſay not now, at leaſt ſome of them, have at all times oppoſed parliamentary reform, and oppoſed

it not on the time, but the principle; oppoſed it, becauſe they had an intereſt in preferring a repreſentation by borough, to a repreſentation by the people. But, Sir, if the queſtion wanted the aid of an argument ariſing from the time, I ſay, the queſtion has that argument in the preſent moment. Is not a French republic ſet up by convention abroad, and alleged to be ſet up by a few at home, in rivalſhip to the Britiſh conſtitution; and is not this the moment to give that conſtitution all its natural advantages, by purging it of all its unnatural deformities? How can you combat the French doctrine ſo well, or effectually, as by the reform of parliament? That is, by the conſtitution of England, its ſubſtance and not its ſhadow. Another argument the time ſuggeſts is, the agitation of this queſtion at preſent with the people: it is now abroad. At a period leſs anxious, the moving the queſtion had been to agitate the people; but the people being now agitated, the moving the queſtion is the only way to compoſe them. From the beſt information I can collect, nothing will ſatisfy the North but a reform of parliament, nothing will ſatisfy the people but a reform of parliament. There is another argument in favour of agitating the queſtion now, which exiſted at no other time but the preſent, and that is, that there was no other time in which you had a chance of ſucceeding. It is in my mind always an argument for bringing forward a queſtion, that you have it in your power to ſucceed. This is the time; arm the queſtion now and you prevail, and in that ſucceſs you ſecure to the country thoſe bleſſiugs of liberty and conſtitution, of which ſhe has heard ſo much, and naturally longs to taſte.

I move you, that a committee be appointed to inquire whether any, and what abuſes, have taken place in the conſtitution of this country, or the adminiſtration of its government, and to report ſuch temperate remedies, as may appear moſt likely to redreſs the ſame.

Mr.

Mr. W. B. Ponſonby ſeconded the motion.

Colonel Conyngham thought that when a meaſure of this kind was temperately introduced, there could be no danger in the diſcuſſion of it. He had entertained a deſign of ſaying ſomething on this ſubject himſelf, when the Catholic queſtion ſhould come before the houſe; and if the gentlemen who now introduced it, would continue to deafen clamour as they did that night, he would pledge himſelf to ſupport them. He did not think the preſent time was a time for bringing forward againſt the government, every charge that could be made againſt them. The people, he was certain, did not feel the grievances that had been mentioned in ſeveral inſtances; but on this ſubject he allowed that public expectation was very high.

Mr. Denis Browne agreed with the honourable baronet who had ſpoken laſt, that there never was a time that required more the honeſt exertion of every man than the preſent; nothing that a government could give to him, would be a compenſation for giving there a vote that might lead to an improper proceeding of parliament; ſtill leſs would he be influenced by popularity; that was a feather that was often undeſervedly got, and eaſily loſt. The firſt reformer of France ſunk before the republican; the republican before thoſe who introduced into that country anarchy and murder.

The right honourable gentleman on the floor, after having reſcued the trade and conſtitution of this country from the dominion of Great Britain, was himſelf unpopular. The man of the people muſt have no arreſting principle; he muſt follow where their violence or caprice leads, or he is loſt. It ſhould be his part to do his duty; it was the buſineſs of the people to be pleaſed with his manner of doing it. The momentous queſtion before the houſe had come forward very unexpectedly;

unexpectedly; he had never heard of it till the moment it was moved by the right honourable gentleman; he had not therefore ſufficiently conſidered it, to give that conſiderate opinion it demanded. He had not a doubt that the people of Ireland were not fully repreſented in parliament, but he had great doubts of the expediency of bringing forward the meaſure of parliamentary reform at this time; there was a fever in the world, that made agitations of the public mind highly dangerous, that riſqued the certain advantages that reſult from peace. He thought there were times, when meaſures that might be probably good in themſelves, were dangerous and inexpedient, and that this was a time of that deſcription. He agreed with the right honourable gentleman, that there was an abominable ſanguine principle in this country, that led its parliament ſometimes to pride, to humility, and to timidity, in times of danger. That ſuch a principle, which he acknowledged, might make it expedient to uſe the moment of their timidity to preſs a meaſure, that in their pride they might ſcoff at. But he had another objection, and a ſtrong one, to bring forward reform of parliament at preſent; he had heard in Connaught, in Munſter and Leinſter, the ſituation of the Roman Catholics complained of as a grievance. This great body of the people had, however, confined themſelves to complaints of their own particular ſituation; they had neither complaints to make of, nor encomiums to laviſh on a conſtitution, of which they had no part: where then does this complaint come from, that ſteps between parliament and the redreſs of their Catholic grievances? From the town of Belfaſt; and he would call on thoſe gentlemen, who ſaid they had oppoſed a parliamentary reform, when coming from an armed convention in 1782, to compare thoſe times and thoſe proceedings with the preſent. The armed convention in 178 , conſiſted of the leaders of a popular army, flushed with the praiſe of the people and the parliament. From

the

the county he then repreſented, two gentlemen appeared as delegates, that had as good fortunes, and were every way as highly circumſtanced as either his colleague or himſelf. What is the proceeding, and who are the people of that town that now ſend us in this meaſure? Military aſſociations, that join with their ſchemes of reforming the conſtitution of Ireland, an approbation of the proceedings of France; that declare they will keep the conſtitution of King, Lords and Commons, provided they are not put to any trouble in ſettling thoſe bodies, in the manner moſt pleaſing to themſelves; if they are, they will diſmiſs them all; that call on every man who cannot ſerve their cauſe, which they call the cauſe of this country, with his perſon, to forward it with his money. For this purpoſe, a military cheſt, as it is called, is eſtabliſhed, for the declared purpoſe of buying arms, armour, and ammunition. The Rev. Mr. Kilburn, in a very animated debate of that town, informs us that lords are a grievance, and ought to be diſmiſſed, becauſe wiſdom is not hereditary; that king and lords ought to be diſmiſſed, becauſe they were two to one againſt the people; which proceedings were moſt violent, and ought to be moſt reprobated by parliament. Did the proceedings of France begin with declarations of ſuch principles? It is not praiſe of the conſtitution, it is exertion alone, can ſave this country. There was no family in Ireland would loſe leſs by reform of parliament than his; they had no borough; none would gain more. They had great property, but a ſuperior intereſt; that of public quiet made him wiſh for a poſtponement of that meaſure at preſent.

Mr. Buſhe oppoſed the idea of poſtponing the Catholic queſtion, until after the reform ſhould be decided upon. It ſtood much better upon its own ground: we had taken twelve months to conſider it; we were ripe for deciſion. The queſtion of reform would require deliberation, and its fate

fate was yet uncertain. He hoped the houſe would not agree to ſuffer the relief of the Catholics to hang on any uncertain event. Beſides, the mover of the queſtion of reform had declared, that he intended to make the new repreſentation a repreſentation of property. Why then delay the other, if we were convinced, as he was, that Catholic property ought to be repreſented? For whether we reform or do not reform, in either event the Catholics ought to be admitted. The way to give them fair play, was to bring on this queſtion directly.

Mr. Corry propoſed an amendment, viz. that inſtead of a committee to enquire into the abuſes of the conſtitution and of the adminiſtration: a committee ſhould be appointed to enquire into the ſtate of the repreſentation.

Mr. George Ponſonby roſe to ſay, that if he comprehended the amendment propoſed by the honourable gentleman, (Mr. Corry) its object was to ſeparate the parts of the reſolution, as moved by his right honourable friend, (Mr. Grattan) in order to keep back from inquiry the abuſes, which have been introduced into the practice of the conſtitution, by the adminiſtration of this country. This object, if attained, might be uſeful to government, but was totally incompatible with the object of the original motion, and therefore could not receive his aſſent.

The propriety or neceſſity of making any alteration in the repreſentation of the people in parliament, could never be fairly aſcertained, without a previous inquiry into the deſire and portion of influence, which the crown was enabled to exert over the members of that houſe, in the preſent ſtate of repreſentation; and therefore it was eſſential to examine how far the miſconduct of adminiſtration, in inducing the houſe to refuſe all meaſures, that had been offered by the gentlemen on this ſide of the houſe, which would operate to

ſecure

ſecure the independence of parliament, as at preſent conſtituted, had itſelf proved and produced the neceſſity of reſorting to ſo hazardous an experiment as an alteration in the ſtate of repreſentation. A celebrated author had ſaid, that the government which was beſt adminiſtered, was beſt. He could not, himſelf, agree with that opinion, in its utmoſt latitude, but he was ſure that a conſtitution which poſſeſſed ſo much of good, and ſo little of evil as ours, would never have been thought a fit ſubject for alteration by the people, if they had not been rouſed and goaded to it by the evil practices of ſo corrupt an adminiſtration. An honourable and learned member, on the other ſide of the houſe, had ſaid, that his friends had flattered themſelves very much, when they had thought that the refuſal of thoſe meaſures, which they had propoſed in parliament, or their ſpeeches, or their efforts, had all contributed to exaſperate the minds of the people. That the people were much diſcontented, he admitted; but, he ſaid, that the pen of Mr. Paine, and the ſword of General Dumourier, had been the real inſtigators of thoſe diſcontents. He was ſure the learned member did not mean to inſinuate, that the gentlemen on his ſide of the houſe approved of the writings of Mr. Paine, or the politics of the French; and for his own part, he conſidered Mr. Paine then, what he had always conſidered him to be, the hired emiſſary of France, employed for the purpoſe of endeavouring to make confuſion in theſe countries; and as to the French themſelves, he conſidered them as the moſt unhappy, and infatuated nation that had ever eſcaped from deſpotiſm; and he was confident that if it was found neceſſary, for the advantage of thoſe countries, to go to war with France, that the gentlemen, on his ſide of the Houſe, would be found, at leaſt, as cordial and conſtant, in their ſupport of the crown, in the proſecution of the war, as the gentlemen on the other ſide. But he entirely differed with the learned member, as to the cauſes of the diſcontents.

What

What had happened in the laſt parliament, during the agitation of the regency, had made the influence of the executive power over the members of the houſe of Commons plain and evident to the dulleſt peaſants. At laſt they had ſeen the members of the houſe of Commons of that day running from one ſide of the Houſe to the other, juſt as they conceived the executive government likely to be placed, and running, finally, to the ſupport of that very adminiſtration which they had not only deſerted, but actually cenſured by their votes. Thoſe gentlemen who had abided by their principles, and who had obſerved and lamented the ſcandalous and injurious effects of the influence of the crown, at that period, had been ever ſince employed in endeavouring to reduce it by conſtitutional means within conſtitutional bounds; the laws which they had propoſed were all ſanctioned by the example of Great Britain, whoſe legiſlature had at different periods adopted them, in order to learn the independence of the houſe of Commons, theſe bills, the place, penſion, reſponſibility, &c. &c. have been uniformly rejected by the prevalence of the ſame ſhameful influence, and all hopes cut off of reducing the amount and quantum of that influence of the crown over the members of this houſe. It did not, and it could not fail to ſtrike them, that the mere object of ſupporting and augmenting this vaſt patronage, was to enable the Britiſh miniſter to exert the ſame powers in this country by the means of this influence which he had poſſeſſed in it. Before the revolution of 1782, ſome recent events which have taken place, have alſo contributed to the ſame purpoſe; the people have ſeen an Engliſh adminiſtration hallooing, if I may uſe that vulgar expreſſion, the Roman Catholics of this country againſt the Proteſtants, and the Iriſh adminiſtration hallooing the Proteſtants againſt the Catholics, all for the purpoſe of deriding, weakening, and trampling upon both; the Engliſh miniſter did not encourage the Catholics, from any love to them, but merely to deter,

deter, if poſſible, the Proteſtant Iriſhmen in this houſe from their oppoſition to his meaſures; this circumſtance ſhould make the people of Ireland reflect deeply upon their ſituation, and ſee clearly how impoſſible it is for the country to do itſelf juſtice, whilſt its inhabitants are divided amongſt themſelves. Some Iriſhmen, perhaps, might think there was danger in gratifying the Catholics in their preſent demands. He thought there was none, and that it ſhould be done frankly and cordially. They are Iriſh, he ſaid, and I am Iriſh; and with the proſperity or adverſity of this, our common country, will I riſe or fall. I am ſincerely attached to the connexion of the two countries, and I love the people of England as much as any man, but I will never agree to ſacrifice the rights or the intereſts of this my native country to the ſchemes of an Engliſh miniſter. The honourable member who moved the amendment, naturally wiſhes to withdraw the attention of the people from the conduct of his own friends; but for my part, I freely confeſs, that although I have not any perſonal objection to any of the gentlemen on the other ſide of the houſe, yet I wiſh to rivet the eyes of the people upon thoſe Iriſhmen who have enabled an Engliſhman to commit thoſe abuſes which drive us to ſo awful a meaſure as an alteration in the repreſentation of the people.

Mr. Grattan. Sir, any member has a right to ſeparate the queſtions, I agree to ſeparate them; my motion was to the abuſes in the repreſentation of the people, to the influence of the crown in parliament: and alſo, to corruption! which has taken place in the adminiſtration of its government;—all muſt be reform: but if the houſe wiſh to confine themſelves to a part of my motion for the preſent, that is, the ſtate of the repreſentation: I will rejoice that they pledge themſelves ſo far, and ſhall not heſitate to adopt the amendment, and thank the member who ſuggeſted it.

This

This amendment was finally agreed to, the committee being made a committee of the whole houſe.

On Thurſday, January 31, 1793.—The order of the day, for taking into conſideration the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council's proclamation of the eighth of December laſt, for diſperſing all unlawful aſſemblies, and for preventing ſeditious aſſociations, being read, and the proclamation being read by the clerk at the table,

Lord Headfort, after paying a compliment to the conduct of Adminiſtration, as to the meaſures which they had purſued, in reſpect to the proclamation juſt now read, and which, he hoped, would meet with the ſanction of parliament; adverted to the circumſtance of a corps of volunteers, having attempted laſt Sunday to array and parade in arms, but which was prevented by the interpoſition of government, who ſent a magiſtrate to diſſuade them from it, and to warn them of the predicament they would bring themſelves into, moved the following reſolution:

"Reſolved, That an addreſs of thanks be preſented, from this houſe, to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, for communicating to this houſe the proclamation which his excellency had iſſued, and for the vigilance and attention which his excellency had manifeſted, to preſerve the public tranquillity; and that we applaud the wiſdom of his Excellency, in ſeparating thoſe who ſo laudably aſſociated for the purpoſes of defending this country from foreign invaſion, as well as to preſerve domeſtic tranquillity, from thoſe whoſe declared objects are tumult, diſaffection and ſedition; and to aſſure his Excellency, that we will concur in ſuch meaſures as will carry the ſaid proclamation into effect."

Mr. Prendergaſt Smyth ſeconded the motion.

Mr.

Mr. George Ponſonby approved of the addreſs; at the ſame time he wiſhed that a line of diſtinction ſhould be made between the old volunteer corps and any modern corps, who might make uſe of any diſaffected emblems. Theſe he deprecated in the ſtrongeſt terms, and to the utmoſt of his power he ſhould oppoſe them. He wiſhed that the circumſtance of a magiſtrate going, laſt Sunday, to the parade of the Goldſmiths corps, had not been adverted to, for from every information he had received, that was a corps which never merited any reprehenſion.

Mr. Secretary Hobart read a ſummons from the Goldſmiths corps; alſo the addreſs from the Society of United Iriſhmen to the Volunteers of Ireland; likewiſe the reſolutions entered into, at a meeting of delegates from ſeveral of the Dublin volunteer corps. He ſaid, that from thoſe reſolutions thoſe corps come within the deſcription and meaning of the proclamation; as to the circumſtance of laſt Sunday, information had been received that the Goldſmith's corps intended to parade and appear in arms. Directions were given to a magiſtrate to caution them againſt it, but, he ſaid, there was no intention to call out the military in aid of the magiſtrate, except in caſe of its becoming neceſſary. He accounted why this proclamation had not been laid earlier before parliament; and, he ſaid, it was a matter of great ſatisfaction to him to find, that the conduct of Adminiſtration, in this buſineſs, had met with the approbation of gentlemen on the other ſide of the houſe.

Mr. Ponſonby ſaid, what had fallen from the right honourable gentleman who ſpoke laſt, made it neceſſary for him to ſay a few words; he begged he might by no means be underſtood as giving any degree of approbation to a plan for diſperſing the volunteers. He thought that no meeting ſhould or could legally be conſidered as ſeditious or tumultuous, where no act of illegality was committed or likely to be committed;

mitted; as to the addreſs he heartily approved of it, as the proclamation went only to ſuppreſs aſſociations, entertaining ſeditious views; ſo far as any gentleman ſhall prove that any old volunteer corps entertains ſimilar views, ſo far he would be againſt them, but no farther. He would not, therefore, be drawn in, by approving this addreſs, to cenſure the old and laudable volunteer corps, on charges of guilt merely implicatory; until they ſhould have done ſomething illegal, or made it probable that they were about to do it, he would by no means agree in any kind of cenſure on them.

Mr. Grattan ſpoke as follows.—I approve of the proclamation, as much as I condemn the uſe which the miniſter now attempts to make of it. The proclamation arraigned a certain body of men, whom it deſcribes to be an aſſociation aſſuming deviſes and emblems of diſaffection. The miniſter applies that to the volunteers of the city and the county; under that colour propoſes to diſperſe them; and in order to juſtify that project, he produces a formal charge; that charge is confined to two heads; firſt, a ſummons purporting to be that of the corps of Goldſmiths, reciting that the delegates of the corps were to aſſemble, to celebrate the retreat of the Duke of Brunſwick, and the French victory in the low countries, and inciting the Goldſmith's corps to attend. I do not aſk how far it was perfectly diſcreet to celebrate ſuch an event, particularly if we conſider the conſequences to which ſuch an event might poſſibly lead; but I aſk, was it a ground for diſmiſſing the volunteers? Do miniſters mean to ſay, that they will diſperſe all the volunteers of Ireland, who celebrate the French victories in Brabant. I aſk, alſo, of any man who can read, whether ſuch a celebration brings theſe obnoxious corps within the deſcription of the proclamation? Whether ſuch a celebration was aſſuming the emblems or deviſes of diſſaffection? And it is the more obvious that ſuch an event was not judged by the

council

council who signed the proclamation, a good reason for including the corps of the city, because after that event had taken place, it expressly excepted them; it has saved the laudable associations, under the description of the old volunteers, and has confined the proclamation to the national guard. The style of the summons has given offence; if ministers do not approve of it; it begins, citizen soldiers; they are French terms, or rather terms of French foppery, below our imitation. The date has, also, given offence; the last year, or the last moment of slavery! Here again is the French style or frippery introduced; but is that or the other expression, or both, sufficient ground for the minister to disperse the corps, or is it such an offence as comes within the description of the proclamation? No man who reads, can say it is. The minister, himself, aware that his first charge was insufficient, has produced another. He has read a long address from a society called the United Irishmen, inviting the people of Ireland to assemble in a national convention, and containing an abundance of other matter; and he then produces a succession of resolutions from some of the corps of Dublin, one of which resolutions returns thanks to the society of United Irishmen. Without giving any kind of approbation of the matter of that address, I must say, that I think a minister would be highly indiscreet and presumptuous who should say, that the volunteers had by those thanks, brought themselves within the description of the proclamation, or that they were guilty of assuming emblems and devices of disaffection; as little should I think him justified in dispersing merely on account of those thanks. If so, you give the minister a right to disperse every volunteer corps in the city and county, if he do not approve of their politics now: though in the many resolutions which young men may adopt, some will be, and many were exceptionable, yet I would not wish to establish over them in the minister an authority to take away their arms, if he disapproves

approves of their politics. I know the evil uſe that he will make of that power, and the dangerous conſequences and confuſion to which it leads. Permit me to aſk this right honourable gentleman, who has arraigned the old volunteer corps, is it his intention to multiply volunteers? If ſo, I apprehend he is adopting the means; if the city and county corps are not intimidated, but encreaſe by the attempts of the Governments to diſperſe them. If they ſtand to their arms and are ſupported by their brethren, what becomes of his project? But if, on the other hand, they ſhould diſperſe in the capital, does he imagine the volunteers will be deterred in the North? He ought to prove that: the way to recruit for volunteers in the North, was to attack them in the city. They will conſider his attack as an affront, and think that the cauſe of a part, is the cauſe of the whole. The miniſter is, therefore, doing the very thing which he wiſhes to prevent; he is provoking a general armament; he is doing more, he is detaching that armament from parliament. In his charge againſt the volunteers he has mentioned a national convention. I hope this houſe will, by reforming the parliament, prevent ſuch an aſſembly, the conſequences of which may be very unfortunate; but if the miniſter wiſhes to give ſuch an aſſembly an army at his back, he is taking the method, by committing this houſe as well as himſelf, with the volunteers, and attempting to detach them from the eſtabliſhed conſtitution. The object of the right honourable mover, in 1779, of reſolutions of thanks to the volunteers, was to attach them to the houſe of Commons. I think the object was a right one; that of the miniſter now is to detach them from the houſe. I think his object is an evil one, and the manner in which the miniſter proceeds, convicts him of imprudence. He does not in this proclamation venture to arraign the old corps; he does not in the addreſs approving of the proclamation, attempt to arraign them; on the contrary, they are the objects of commenda-

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tion in both, but when he comes to ſpeak, he departs from the addreſs and proclamation, and propoſes ſuch an interpretation of both, or goes againſt the ſpirit and letter of either, and ſuch as would enable him to diſperſe the old corps, under the ſeeming approbation of this houſe. Thus does he endeavour to lead this houſe much farther than it intends, making the houſe at once praiſe the old corps, and then putting ſuch a comment on that praiſe, as amounts to a propoſal to diſperſe them for diſaffection. I, therefore, deſire, in giving my approbation to the proclamation, to be diſtinctly underſtood. I approve of it, becauſe it did propoſe to diſperſe the national guard, and becauſe it did not propoſe to diſperſe the volunteers.

Mr. Stewart (of Killymoon) ſaid, he knew no words in the Engliſh language, that more ſtrongly expreſſed approbation, than thoſe by which the volunteers were deſcribed in the proclamation and the addreſs. If any ſet of men take up principles different from the original volunteers, the name of volunteers could not belong to them. In agreeing to the addreſs, he would not be underſtood, as diſapproving in any manner of the old corps throughout the kingdom, nor of thoſe of the county and city of Dublin; he thought the Goldſmiths were particularly entitled to praiſe, for diſperſing at the inſtance of the magiſtrate.

Lord Edward Fitzgerald now roſe, and in a very vehement tone declared—I give my moſt hearty diſapprobation to that addreſs, for I do think that the Lord Lieutenant and the majority of this houſe are the worſt ſubjects the King has."

A loud cry of "to the bar," and "take down his words," immediately echoed from every part of the houſe. The houſe was cleared in an inſtant, and ſtrangers were not readmitted for nearly three hours.

He

He was admitted to explain himſelf, and on his explaining, the houſe

"Reſolved, *nem con.*

"That an excuſe offered by the Right Hon. Edward Fitzgerald, commonly called Lord Edward Fitzgerald, for the ſaid words ſo ſpoken, is unſatisfactory and inſufficient."

Ordered, that Lord Edward Fitzgerald do attend at the bar to-morrow.

The addreſs was agreed to unanimouſly.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Petition of the Roman Catholics to his Majesty.—Formation of political societies.—Address from the friends of the Constitution to the people of Ireland.—Proceedings of the society of Free-masons.—Address to the Catholics from their subcommittee.—Motion for leave to bring in a bill for the further relief of the Romam Catholics.—Speech of Sir H. Langrisse on seconding the motion.—Speech of Dr. Duignan in opposition to the bill.

WE shall now turn for a short time from parliamentary debates, to view the proceedings of the nation at large.

The Roman Catholics were now anxious by every effort, to second the endeavours of their friends in parliament on their behalf—they prepared a memorial to his Majesty, and five gentlemen were appointed to present the same, viz. Mr. Byrne, Mr. Keogh, Mr. Dascant, Mr. Bellew, and Sir Thomas French: it was accordingly presented to the King, who was pleased to receive the same very graciously.—The petition was as follows.

TO THE KING's MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The humble petition of the undersigned Catholics, on behalf of themselves and the rest of the Catholic subjects of the kingdom of Ireland.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

We, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects of your kingdom of Ireland, profeſſing the Catholic religion, preſume to approach you Majeſty, who are the common father of all your people, and humbly to ſubmit to your conſideration the manifold incapacities and oppreſſive diſqualifications under which we labour.

For, may it pleaſe your Majeſty, after a century of uninterrupted loyalty, in which time five foreign wars, and two domeſtic rebellions have occurred, after having taken every oath of allegiance and fidelity to your Majeſty, and given, and being ſtill ready to give, every pledge which can be deviſed for their peaceable demeanour and unconditional ſubmiſſionto the laws, the C atholics of Ireland ſtand obnoxious to a long catalogue of ſtatutes, inflicting on dutiful and meritorious ſubjects pains and penalties of an extent and ſeverity which ſcarce any degree of delinquency can warrant, and prolonged to a period when no neceſſity can be alledged to juſtify their continuance.

In the firſt place, we beg leave with all humility to repreſent to your Majeſty, that notwithſtanding the loweſt departments in your Majeſty's fleets and armies, are largely ſupplied by our numbers, and your revenue in this country to a great degree ſupported by our contributions, we are diſabled from ſerving your Majeſty in any office of truſt and emolument whatſoever, civil or military; a proſcription which diſregards capacity or merit, admits of neither qualification nor degree, and reſts as an univerſal ſtigma of diſtruſt upon the whole body of your Catholic ſubjects. We are interdicted from all municipal ſtations, and the franchiſe of all guilds and corporations; and our excluſion from the benefits annexed to thoſe ſituations, is not an evil terminating in itſelf; for, by giving an advantage over us to thoſe in

in whom they are excluſively veſted, they eſtabliſh throughout the kingdom a ſpecies of qualified monopoly, uniformly operating in our diſfavour, contrary to the ſpirit, and highly detrimental to the freedom, of trade.

We may not found nor endow any univerſity, college, or ſchool, for the education of our children; and we are interdicted from obtaining degrees in the Univerſity of Dublin, by the ſeveral charters and ſtatutes now in force therein.

We are totally prohibited from keeping or uſing weapons for the defence of our houſes, families, or perſons, whereby we are expoſed to the violence of burglary, robbery, and aſſaſſination; and to enforce this prohibition, contravening that great original law of nature, which enjoins us to ſelf-defence, a variety of ſtatutes exiſt, not leſs grievous and oppreſſive in their proviſions, than unjuſt in their object; by one of which, enacted ſo lately as within theſe 16 years, every of your Majeſty's Catholic ſubjects, of whatever rank or degree, peer or peaſant, is compellible by any magiſtrate to come forward and convict himſelf of what may be thought a ſingular offence in a country profeſſing to be free—keeping arms for his defence; or, if he ſhall refuſe ſo to do, may incur not only fine and impriſonment, but the vile and ignominious puniſhments of the pillory and whipping;—penalties appropriated to the moſt infamous malefactors, and more terrible to a liberal mind than death itſelf. No Catholic whatſoever, as we apprehend, has his perſonal property ſecure.—The law allows and encourages the diſobedient and unnatural child to conform and deprive him of it: the unhappy father does not, even by the ſurrender of his all, purchaſe his repoſe; he may be attacked by a new bill, if his future induſtry be ſucceſsful, and again be plundered by due proceſs of law.

We

We are excluded, or may be excluded from all Petit Juries, in civil actions, where one of the parties is a Proteſtant; and we are further excluded from all Petit Juries in trials by information or indictment founded on any of the Popery laws; by which law we moſt humbly ſubmit to your Majeſty, that your loyal ſubjects, the Catholics of Ireland, are in this their native land, in a worſe ſituation than that of Aliens, for they may demand an equitable privilege denied to us, of having half their Jury Aliens like themſelves.

We may not ſerve on Grand Juries, unleſs, which it is ſcarcely poſſible can ever happen, there ſhould not be found a ſufficiency of Proteſtants to complete the pannel; contrary to that humane and equitable principle of the law, which ſays that no man ſhould be convicted of any capital offence, unleſs by the concurring verdicts of two juries of his neighbours and equals; whereby, and to this we humbly preſume more particularly to implore your Royal attention, we are deprived of the great Palladium of the conſtitution, Trial by our Peers, independent of the manifeſt injuſtice of our property being taxed in aſſeſſments by a body, from which we are formally excluded.

We avoid a further enumeration of inferior grievances, but may it pleaſe your Majeſty, there remains one incapacity, which your loyal ſubjects, the Catholics of Ireland, feel with moſt poignant anguiſh of mind, as being the badge of unmerited diſgrace and ignominy, and the cauſe and bitter aggravation of all other calamities; we are deprived of the elective franchiſe, to the manifeſt perverſion of the ſpirit of the conſtitution, in as much as your faithful ſubjects are thereby taxed where they are not repreſented, actually or virtually, and bound by laws, in the framing of which they have no power to give or withhold their aſſent; and we moſt humbly implore your Majeſty to believe, that this our

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prime and heavy grievance is not an evil merely ſpeculative, but is attended with great diſtreſs to all ranks, and in many inſtances, with the total ruin and deſtruction of the lower orders of your Majeſty's faithful and loyal ſubjects the Catholics of Ireland; for may it pleaſe your Majeſty, not to mention the infinite variety of advantages in point of protection and otherwiſe, which the enjoyment of the elective franchiſe gives to thoſe who poſſeſs it, nor the conſequent inconveniencies to which thoſe who are deprived thereof are liable, not to mention the diſgrace to three-fourths of your loyal ſubjects of Ireland, living the only body of men incapable of franchiſe, in a nation poſſeſſing a free conſtitution, it continually happens, and of neceſſity from the malignant nature of the law muſt happen, that multitudes of the Catholic tenantry in divers counties in this kingdom are, at the expiration of their leaſes, expelled from their tenements and farms to make room for Proteſtant freeholders, who, by their votes, may contribute to the weight and importance of their landlords —A circumſtance which renders the recurrence of a general election, that period which is the boaſt and laudable triumph of our proteſtant brethren—a viſitation and heavy curſe to us, your Majeſty's dutiful and loyal ſubjects. And may it pleaſe your Majeſty, this uncertainty of poſſeſſing to your Majeſty's Catholic ſubjects operates as a perpetual reſtraint and diſcouragement on induſtry and the ſpirit of cultivation, whereby it happens, that this your Majeſty's kingdom of Ireland, poſſeſſing many and great natural advantages of ſoil and climate, ſo as to be exceeded therein by few, if any countries on the earth, is yet prevented from availing herſelf thereof ſo fully as ſhe otherwiſe might, to the furtherance of your Majeſty's honour, and the more effectual ſupport of your ſervice.

And may it pleaſe your Majeſty, the evil does not even reſt here;—for many of your Majeſty's Catholic ſubjects, to preſerve their families from total deſtruction, ſubmit to a nominal

minal conformity againſt their conviction and their conſcience; and, preferring perjury to famine, take oaths which they utterly disbelieve—a circumſtance which, we doubt not, will ſhock your Majeſty's well known and exemplary piety, not leſs than the miſery which drives thoſe unhappy wretches to ſo deſperate a meaſure, muſt diſtreſs and wound your Royal clemency and commiſeration.

And, may it pleaſe your Majeſty, though we might here reſt our caſe, on its own merit, juſtice, and expediency, yet we further preſume, humbly to ſubmit to your Majeſty, that the right of franchiſe was, with divers other rights, enjoyed by the Catholics of this kingdom, from the firſt adoption of the Engliſh Conſtitution by our forefathers, was ſecured to at leaſt a great part of our body by the treaty of Limerick, in 1691, guaranteed to your Majeſty's Royal Predeceſſors, King William and Queen Mary, and finally confirmed and ratified by Parliament; notwithſtanding which, and in direct breach of the public faith of the nation thus ſolemnly pledged, for which our anceſtors paid a valuable conſideration, in a ſurrender of their arms, and a great part of this kingdom, and notwithſtanding the moſt ſcrupulous adherence, on our part, to the terms of the ſaid treaty, and our unremitting loyalty from that day to the preſent, the ſaid right of elective franchiſe was finally and univerſally taken away from the Catholics of Ireland, ſo lately as the firſt year of his Majeſty King George the Second.

And when we thus preſume to ſubmit this infraction of the treaty of Limerick to your Majeſty's Royal notice, it is not that we ourſelves conſider it to be the ſtrong part of our caſe; for though our rights were recognized, they were by no means created by that treaty; and we do with all humility conceive, that if no ſuch event as the ſaid treaty had ever taken place, your Majeſty's Catholic ſubjects, from their unvarying loyalty, and dutiful ſubmiſſion to the laws,

laws, and from the great ſupport afforded by them to your Majeſty's Government in this country, as well as in their perſonal ſervice in your Majeſty's fleets and armies, as from the taxes and revenues levied on their property, are fully competent, and juſtly entitled to participate and enjoy the bleſſings of the Conſtitution of their country.

And now that we have, with all humility, ſubmitted our grievances to your Majeſty, permit us, moſt gracious Sovereign, again to repreſent our ſincere attachment to the Conſtitution, as eſtabliſhed in the three eſtates of King, Lords, and Commons, our uninterrupted loyalty, peaceable demeanor, and ſubmiſſion to the laws for one hundred years, and our determination to perſevere in the ſame dutiful conduct, which has under your Majeſty's happy auſpices, procured us thoſe relaxations of the penal ſtatutes, which the wiſdom of the Legiſlature has from time to time thought proper to grant.—We humbly preſume to hope, that your Majeſty, in your paternal goodneſs and affection towards a numerous and oppreſſed body of your loyal ſubjects, may be graciouſly pleaſed to recommend to your parliament of Ireland to take into conſideration the whole of our ſituation, our numbers, our merits, and our ſufferings, and as we do not give place to any of your Majeſty's ſubjects in loyalty and attachment to your Majeſty's ſacred perſon, we cannot ſuppreſs our wiſhes of being reſtored to the rights and privileges of the Conſtitution of our country, and thereby becoming more worthy, as well as more capable, of rendering your Majeſty that ſervice which it is not leſs our duty than our inclination to afford.

So may your Majeſty tranſmit to your lateſt poſterity a crown ſecured by public advantage and public affection,—and ſo may your Royal Perſon become more dear, if poſſible, to your grateful people.

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(The above petition was signed by Delegates from the different counties, cities, and principal towns of Ireland, on behalf of themselves and the Catholics of Ireland,)

At this interesting period, many political societies were formed throughout the Kingdom—amongst which we shall here notice one, called an "association of the Friends of the *Constitution, liberty and peace*"!—From this body different addresses were published—the following will sufficiently shew the principles on which they acted.

ASSOCIATION OF THE FRIENDS OF THE CONSTITUTION, LIBERTY AND PEACE.

At a meeting of the above society, at the king's arms tavern, in Fownes's-street, on Wednesday, 16th Jan. 1793,

His GRACE the DUKE of LEINSTER, in the chair,

The following ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND, was unanimously agreed upon;

In the present eventful and auspicious crisis of affairs, we feel a sensible pleasure in offering our congratulations to our countrymen.

In our first address we declared it to be one of the peculiar excellencies of our Constitution, "that its abuses might be "corrected without violating its essence, or even slighting "its forms."—The events now passing before our eyes, verify that tribute of applause which we paid to the inherent virtue of our Constitution.

The claims of three-fourths of the subjects of this country, supported by the wishes of the whole, have reached the throne.

throne. The monarch has announced himself the father of his people, by recognizing those claims, and he has anticipated your demand of a REFORM, by recommending to parliament the adoption of such measures as might unite all his subjects, in an attachment to the Constitution of their country.

Under the influence of this benignant suggestion, even the body which is the object of reform has become the organ of its own reformation—without sedition, without violence, without disturbing public order, or convulsing public opinion—the faction which affected to govern us has been subdued—and rational and peaceful freedom is placed within our grasp. The wise and gracious interposition of our Sovereign has added a further sanction to the loyalty of Irishmen; it has forbidden the constitutional medium of political benefits to remain any longer closed against the people. The corrupt mist which obtruded itself between us and our Sovereign is now dispelled—The unconstitutional influence which debauched the parliament from its constituents, is now for a moment dormant. We call on the Irish people to seize this fortunate crisis of unrestrained communication, and to state in the free language of freemen, the nature and extent of their demands.

The intervention of the people to legislate, or by their own mere act to make, or to reform a constitution is, we admit, the death of establishment, and we have already warned you against the miseries of anarchy. But the interposition of the people to declare their wishes to the legislature, is at all times their constitutional right, and when the question vibrates to the frame of the Constitution itself, it becomes not only their right, but their exclusive interest, and their bounden duty. The proudest parliament must be pleased to learn the sentiments of the nation on any measure sincerely adopted to gratify the nation; and if it were possible to conceive

ceive you indifferent to the ſucceſs of ſuch a meaſure as is now depending, the reproach of thoſe who have ſaid you are too corrupt to be free, might be conſidered as no calumny; and it would perhaps be the duty of a patriotic citizen to diminiſh the operation of your vices, by circumſcribing the ſphere of your privileges. We cannot entertain ſo degrading a ſentiment reſpecting our fellow-citizens; their temperate and firm exertions co-operating with the virtue, wiſdom, and talents of their patriotic leaders, gave them a conſtitution. They have a right equally ſtrong, and are called upon by a duty equally cogent, to protect and to reform that conſtitution. For the purpoſe therefore of empowering and ſtimulating the parliament, of inſtructing and admoniſhing the Iriſh government, and of manifeſting to our Sovereign the loyalty and gratitude of his ſubjects,

We earneſtly recommend it to you, to aſſemble in your reſpective countries, to declare your ſenſe of the *neceſſity* of an *immediate, radical, and effectual reform* in the repreſentation of—*the people*—to lay before the throne your gratitude for his Majeſty's gracious interpoſition on behalf of his Catholic ſubjects, to ſtate your acknowledgments for what has been done in parliament, and your anxious wiſh that it may proceed, *without intermiſſion*, in accompliſhing the great work it has undertaken.—But, whilſt we feel the utmoſt confidence in the affection and juſtice of our Sovereign, and whilſt we place all due reliance on the wiſdom and liberality of parliament, the public ſentiment muſt not ſlumber.

We muſt give information to our real, and take away excuſe from our pretended friends;—we muſt ſtrengthen the ſincere, and animate the luke-warm; and, above all, we muſt deprecate half-meaſures: and let the government of this country know, that no *palliative* will be ſuffered to feed and keep alive the preſent morbid ſyſtem of repreſentation. We do again recommend the formation of ſocieties for the purpoſe

purpoſe of inveſtigation and conference. The difficulties of this arduous buſineſs will the leſs obſtruct its progreſs, when the talents of the nation are every where exerted in ſurmounting them; and we doubt not, that the united exertions of the people of Ireland will, even within this ſeſſion, with the co-operation of parliament, accompliſh reform, which for ages may withſtand the decay of time, and the inroads of corruption.

Signed by order of the Society,
RICHARD GRIFFITH, Sec.

To ſhew ſtill farther the ſtate of the public mind at this period, we inſert the following ſentiments of a maſonic body, tho' it is a well known principle of that ſociety to exclude as much as poſſible the diſcuſſion of political as religious differences amongſt them-

A meeting of the general Committee of free and accepted Maſons of the county of Tyrone, was held in their Committee-room, at Dungannon, on Monday the 7th of January, 1793, in order to determine what conduct ſhould be purſued by them as Maſons and as citizens, at this momentous criſis.

The worſhipful James Reynolds, Eſq; M. D. preſident.

No.	Lodges Represented. &c.		Members.
205	Moy, William Richardſon,	Maſter,	5
350	Cappagh, Robert Corry, Deputy	Maſter,	23
318	Stewartſtown, Robert Holmes, Eſq;	Maſter,	22
396	Fintona, Robert M'Knight,	Delegate,	69
421	Dungannon, Henry Fearns,	Maſter,	70
461	Moy, Charles Man,	Maſter,	146
480	Coaliſland, James Campbell,	Maſter,	9
483	Aughnacloy, John Hadden,	Maſter,	169
			502 Do.

502	Do. George M'Williams, Eſq;	Delegate,	100
547	N. T. Stewart, John Alexander, Eſq;	Delegate,	106
557	Benburb, William Richardſon,	Delegate,	36
576	Moy, Ditto,	Delegate,	52
599	Aughnacloy, William Fleming,	Maſter,	70
625	Strabane, Robert Cuthbertſon,	Delegate,	61
635	Ardſtra, Robert Barnwell,	Maſter,	62
647	Carrenteel, James Wright,	Delegate,	46
659	Dungannon, Rev. James Davidſon,	Delegate,	14
664	Killeter, William Caldwell,	Maſter,	26
668	Cookſtown, John Holbert,	Maſter,	40
679	Ballygawley, James M'Daniel,	Maſter,	60
698	Stewartſtown, J. Caldwell, Eſq. M. D.	Delegate,	21
708	Caſtlecaulfield, Thomas Higgins,	Maſter,	17
717	Kilmore, Robert Barnwell,	Delegate,	42
723	Ballygawley, Bryan Mackin,	Delegate,	40
726	Buſh-houſe, James Campbell,	Delegate,	36
727	Ballygawley, Laurence Speer,	Maſter,	20
740	Donaghmore, Alex. M'Kinſey,	Delegate,	36
760	Benburb, William Richardſon, Eſq;	Delegate,	22
765	Stewartſtown, Samuel Sleator,	Maſter,	12
768	Cookſtown, J. Reynolds, Eſq; M. D.	Maſter,	9
		In all	1432

Myſteries being performed: agreed, that the wiſe founder of our glorious inſtitution, knowing the human heart, and that men's ſentiments on ſome ſubjects, would vary as much as their complexions: in days of old eſtabliſhed, for the purpoſe of preſerving that unity which ſhould ever be among us a wiſe rule and order:—That tenets of religious or political parties ſhould never be diſcuſſed in any lodge:—Therefore the neceſſary myſteries being again performed according to the ancient cuſtom, they reſolved themſelves into an aſſembly of Maſonic citizens, that they might take into conſideration

deration the important purpoſes of their meeting; when the following reſolutions, declaration, and addreſſes were unanimouſly entered into.

Reſolved 1ſt. That we honour our King, George III, and will zealouſly ſupport his juſt prerogatives, as well as the hereditary ſucceſſion of his family to the Crown.

2d. We wiſh to perpetuate the form of government, conſiſting of the three branches, a King, Lords and Commons, but the latter muſt be freely and frequently choſen by the people, and obedient to their inſtructions.

3d. We love our brethren the Volunteers of Ireland, applaud their upright conduct, and will co-operate with them the guardians of this kingdom.—We equally deteſt the mendicant patriotiſm of the timid and intereſted, and the violence of the turbulent and licentious; being determined like honeſt men, not only to ſupport the prerogatives of the Crown, but vindicate the rights of an injured people.

4th. We deprecate a revolution, as both unneceſſary and ineligible for our country;—convinced that it ſhould never be had recourſe to, 'till all other means of eſcaping ſlavery have been tried in vain; and we are determined to uſe with ſpirited firmneſs every rational means for obtaining the univerſal emancipation and adequate repreſentation of all our fellow-ſubjects.

5th. Reſpecting the freedom of the Preſs, as the palladium of liberty, we view with concern the many attacks of late made upon it, and with the utmoſt ſenſibility of mind regret, that the endeavours of the Sovereign of Belfaſt, to mitigate the arbitrary exerciſe of legal corruption, againſt the ſpirited proprietors of the Northern Star, perſecuted on account of their exertions to promote the public good, ſhould have been ineffectual.

THE DECLARATION.

I ſolemnly promiſe and declare, that I will by all rational means promote the univerſal emancipation and adequate repreſentation of all the people of Ireland, and will not be ſatisfied until theſe objects ſhall have been unequivocally obtained, and I entertain no deſire of ſubverting the preſent form of government, conſiſting of King, Lords, and Commons.

TO THE FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS OF IRELAND.

Brethren—affected only by the ſacred influence of thoſe holy bonds which unite us to you and our fraternity encircling the globe, we addreſs you. Reluctantly do we ſpeak on political ſubjects—convinced that "unanimity is the ſtrength of ſociety," we view with abhorrence the inſidious attempts that have been in our native land made, to introduce diſcord, where harmony ſhould reign, to call up the ſpirit of the firſt born Cain and make brother draw the murderous ſword againſt brother: "divide and govern," is a maxim as old as tyranny itſelf.—We will not be divided as Maſons, for holding ſacred the right of private judgment in all matters whatever; the virtuous brother, however he may differ from us in religious or political opinions, ſhall ever be received with the cordial embrace of fraternal fellowſhip. We will not be divided from our countrymen, our intereſts are in common with theirs. Whilſt we view with pleaſure the rapid progreſs of liberty in France, ſupported by reaſon and philoſophy, and founded on the grand principles of our inſtitution: Whilſt we glory in the reflection that our illuſtrious brother Waſhington, and the Maſons of America, were the ſaviours of their country, and the firſt founders of the temple of liberty—are we to ſee the Iriſh Maſons made the tools of corruption; and they

they to be inſtruments for oppreſſing their already borne-down countrymen? Brethren, in embracing the duties of Maſons, we have not relinquiſhed any of our rights as men; we are from our ſouls ſincerely loyal, but ours is not the loyalty of ſlaves, it is that of Maſons—Maſons who know their rights, and are determined to die or be free.—We are no advocates for paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance, fealty to our Sovereign does not require us to ſupport corruption. So long as the vices of man render government neceſſary, it ought to be framed for the good of nations, not for oppreſſion to the many, and the aggrandizement of a few.—Ah! how could any of you, whoſe benevolence ſhould be extenſive as the habitations of man, behold two-thirds of your countrymen, miſerable, oppreſſed, and naked, literally feeding on potatoes and point, labouring under ſanguinary penal laws, taxed without being repreſented, unable in ſickneſs to procure aſſiſtance, obliged in herds annually to deſert their hovels at the approaching ravage of the hearth-collectors, who mercileſs too often, rob their bed of heath or its only covering—could you behold theſe and ſay the people are happy, rich, and prosperous? Could you behold almoſt the whole of what are called the nation's repreſentatives, arbitrarily appointed by a few individuals, for a long number of years, and not accountable for their conduct; places and penſions multiplied for the purpoſes of corruption, and often beſtowed on man without principle, and woman without virtue—the privileges of the Crown infringed, the honours of the Peerage ſold, innumerable taxes wrung from the people, and the nation involved in debt for the purpoſe of corrupting parliament, no reſponſibility required from the great offices of the ſtate, the ſubject deprived of the trial by jury, in conſequence of the game and revenue laws, fiats and attachments?—Could any of you, generous brethren, behold theſe and numerous other grievances, and declare yourſelves

yourſelves enemies to thoſe who will attempt to reform the ſyſtem of enquiry which occaſions them? We believe that the people not having their due weight in the Legiſlature, is the cauſe of all our grievances, and that a real radical reform in the repreſentative branch thereof can alone ſecure the intereſt, and preſerve the peace of Ireland. To this object alone our views are directed, knowing that reform can alone prevent the horrors of a revolution, the blame of which muſt fall on the heads of thoſe who drive the people to deſpair. Brethren, equally contemning the high and low vulgar, we are taught to regard him alone, who is virtuous, as exalted to the level of man. The profane and vicious are only ſavages—to be virtuous it is neceſſary to be free, for ſlavery and vice are inſeparably connected. Reſpecting thoſe ſacred truths, we wiſh we may be branded with infamy if we do ever ceaſe moſt ſtrenuouſly to co-operate with all our fellow-ſubjects in their endeavours to eradicate vice and ſlavery from the land. Taking our wives and children in our hands, we feel all nature ſtirring within us, and the God of nature's voice calling on us to ſave them. One word more, brethren, "a people aſpiring to be free, ſhould be able to protect liberty."—Be peaceable, but powerful.—Let every lodge in the land become a company of citizen ſoldiers.—Let every volunteer company become a lodge of maſons.

Countrymen of all denominations, we addreſs you—our myſteries are not orgies held for plotting againſt your liberty.—Among the Apoſtles, there was one Judas.—The ſlaves among us are few:—join our lodges;—This will give you confidence in each other, and will ſecure you againſt private perſecution, on account of your ſtruggles for freedom no one who dares to oppreſs the leaſt among us, need ever expect ſupport from the reſt.

Signed by order,

WM. RICHARDSON, Sec.

THE

The diſturbances which had prevailed in ſome parts of this country, occaſioned the following publication on the part of the Roman Catholics.—At a meeting of the ſub-committee of the Catholics of Ireland, January 2, 1793,—

Denis Thomas O'Brien, Eſq. in the Chair.

The following addreſs to the Catholics of Ireland was agreed to, and ordered to be publiſhed.

The ſub-committee appointed by the general committee of the Catholics of Ireland to tranſact ſuch buſineſs as may be neceſſary during the adjournment of the latter, feel it their indiſpenſable duty to warn the body at large againſt any attempts of pretended friends or declared enemies to miſlead them, to drive them into a violence derogatory to their unſpotted character of loyalty and obedience to the laws, or ſubverſive of the unanimity which ought to ſubſiſt amongſt every deſcription of Iriſhmen.

They beg leave to recommend to the ſerious conſideration of their Catholic brethren, how unneceſſary it is for them to attend meetings convened for the purpoſe of expreſſing their allegiance, ſince that purpoſe is anſwered in a more dignified, ſolemn and authorized manner by their delegates, who are ſent to lay their grievances at the foot of the throne. Declarations therefore however reſpectably brought forward by name, ability or property, can add no weight to thoſe expreſſions of attachment to the king and conſtitution, which the Catholic petition to our moſt gracious Sovereign contains, but muſt rather take from its efficacy and conſequence, by uſeleſs repetition, and by frittering down a great national act into partial and local exertion.

The committee are grieved to hear of the ſucceſs of deſigning men in agitating the minds of the lower order of their perſuaſion in a part of this country, and filling them

with apprehenſions of danger from their Proteſtant brethren, a circumſtance which has prompted theſe unhappy men to arm and ſtand on their defence. They would wiſh to impreſs upon their mind, in indelible characters, that it is the moſt ardent deſire, and the object neareſt the heart of every individual in the general and ſub-committees, that all animoſity between Proteſtants and Catholics ſhould ceaſe, and lye buried in the graves of their anceſtors; that inhabiting one common country, and adoring the ſame God, the united charities of religion and country may melt us down into one people, and for ever eſtabliſh a reciprocity of intereſts and a community of rights.

The committee truſt that the Catholics of Ireland never will, nor ever can forget their obligations to their Proteſtant brethren, who have ſtood forward as their advocates and protectors.—Should any of their perſuaſion have well-grounded cauſe to fear for their lives or liberties, it is their duty to ſtate it, and ſolicit the protection of government. Should they requeſt the ſub-committee to ſtate their ſituation, the ſub-committee will not be wanting. But they earneſtly recommend to the Catholics in general the continuation of that dutiful and exemplary conduct, which, under circumſtances of unprecedented hardſhip, has for a century made them the admiration of all, who can do juſtice to and feel for the adverſities and virtues of mankind. The world will now ſee their conduct, and unqueſtionably their king and country will reward it: for he is a juſt and a gracious king, and Proteſtants muſt at laſt ſee, that nothing but union at home, a union ariſing from equal law, and equal liberty, can guard the iſland from domeſtic or foreign foes. In this ſanguine and well-founded hope, the committee conjure their Catholic brethren to reſt upon their arms, the only arms the hoſtility of the law cannot take away, the arms of reaſon and juſtice; and patiently wait the

deciſion

decision of their fate, the fate of three millions of aggrieved and loyal subjects.

Signed by order,
JOHN SWEETMAN, Sec.

We shall return now to the proceedings in parliament.—A petition on behalf of the Roman Catholics being presented and received Mr. Secretary Hobart on the 4th of February 1793, moved for leave to bring in a bill for their further relief—this motion was seconded by Sir H. Langrishe with nearly the following speech.

Sir H. Langrishe said——Sir, I rise to second the motion of my right honourable friend, and to offer my humble assistance in a measure, to the accomplishment of which my strenuous efforts have been directed from my earliest political years.

I have so often, in the Catholic pursuit, contended with adverse currents and opposing storms, that it is natural to suppose, though I do not presume to share in the triumph, I may yet hope to partake the present auspicious gale. I have ever considered the Roman Catholics as good and loyal subjects, magnanimous in their sufferings, and conscientious in their allegiance; as such I have ever respected them; as such I have ever endeavoured to serve them. I have, however, always pursued with more solicitude their interest than their acclamations, more anxious to be instrumental to their happiness, than to be distinguished in their councils, or rewarded by their acknowledgments. I have always endeavoured to serve them by that cautious moderation, which I thought most likely to be successful, rather than by a more adventuring boldness, which, though it might

might flatter their feelings, might diſappoint their wiſhes; well knowing, as I do, the value of progreſſive acquiſition; well knowing the value of every ſtep gained of approximation, between brethren who had too long been kept aſunder.

If however ſome amongſt them had thought the rate of my progreſs too tardy, and looked for advocates whoſe energy is more proportioned to their feelings, whoſe genius is more aſpiring than mine; I can only ſay, whatever friends they choſe, they never had me for their enemy, although I may not have agreed in every expedient which the impatience of the moment ſuggeſted, nor emulated the ſuperior energy of their more powerful advocates.

In the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, when I had the honour in co-operation with my right honourable friend, to move you for a further repeal of the laws affecting the Roman Catholics, I certainly wiſhed with as much ardour as any gentleman who hears me, that the public ſentiment, the temper of parliament, the probability of ſucceſs, had allowed me to make my plan more extenſive than that which was adopted; to have connected with the ſtate, by nearer and cloſer ties, ſo great and valuable a part of the community as the Catholic body. But the impatience of purſuit, and the acrimony of contention, were my opponents; circumſtances of intemperance on one ſide, revived old prejudices on the other, which made me conſider accommodation an atchievement. At the ſame time, when I conſider (as I ſaid before) the value of progreſſive acquiſition, I muſt ſay the conceſſions of laſt winter were in themſelves important, and their manner ineſtimable. The unanimity that conceded, ſtamped a double value on the thing conferred; and whatever (from my own attachment to the Roman Catholics, or the liberal diſpoſition of thoſe with whom I acted) might have been the amount of my wiſhes, and would have been the extent of

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my efforts, had I found the occaſion favourable; yet as the friend to the Catholics, I am decidedly of opinion, that any forbearance I might have yielded to on that occaſion, was more than recompenſed by the unanimity it produced; that unanimity, which was the ſymptom of departing prejudices, and the token of returning love; that graciouſneſs of conceſſion, followed by a grateful acceptance, held out to my view thoſe flattering proſpects, which are brightening before me at this day, of ſtill cloſer communications of intereſts and affections between us. The object was a conqueſt of affection, not competition of power; and the means of ſucceſs, mutual deference and conciliation.

I was then ſatisfied, and I think ſo ſtill, that whatever appears from the temper of the times impracticable to be obtained, it is imprudent to ſolicit; for we know too well, that religious diſſenſions are not to be conquered by controverſy and recrimination, but muſt yield to the returning tide of human benevolence; toleration is a plant not to be forwarded by art, or forced by the heat of contention; the exceſſes of heat and of cold are alike fatal to it. It muſt be the growth of temperate aſſiduity, cultivated by the hand of moderation, and matured by the warmth of the heart. And even when toleration itſelf has been reared, a communication of political power, which is and ought to be amongſt its natural productions, cannot in the courſe of things be inſtantaneous; like the fruit of the tree, it muſt be the growth of maturity, and the gift of time.

It has always been the paſſion and the principle of my mind, to lend my humble aſſiſtance to every meaſure, which in its operation might tend to make the Proteſtant and Catholic, by the progreſs of time, grow to be one people; that let them regulate their religious worſhip under whatever different modes, they may unite in devotion to one country; like two ſtems riſing from one root, though they may differ

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in the forms in which they ſhape their courſe towards heaven, yet as they derive from one common origin, and draw their ſuſtenance from the ſame land, that in their growth they may become a ſhelter and protection to each other. I have long wiſhed that the time was come, which would form a new æra of Iriſh concord, of Iriſh conſequence and Iriſh proſperity, in which religious diſſenſion ſhould be loſt in civil operation, in which community of intereſts, and reciprocal good offices, ſhould root out our prejudices, and unite our hearts. But until the enlightened ſpirit of liberal policy had given a progreſs to theſe rational diſpoſitions, a communication of political power could not be expected; for you muſt reconcile, before you unite; you muſt aſſimilate, before you incorporate.

Beſide, Sir, every body knows, who knows any thing of the hiſtory of the world, that violent and ſudden changes of power and property, whether the parties have been divided by religious diſſenſion, or by confederacies on political difference, have always been dangerous, and generally fatal to the ſtate. The fact is, thoſe who have been accuſtomed to power, cannot bear the privation or ſudden diminution of it with patience. Thoſe who are unaccuſtomed to it, will not exerciſe it with prudence; it is the progreſs of time alone that can reconcile and aſſimilate; it is the progreſs of affection alone that can regulate thoſe paſſions, which make one ſide intemperate, and the other ſide intolerant.

And now, Sir, I muſt beg leave to make an obſervation, ſuggeſted to me (I forget where) by a right honourable friend of mine, in which I agree with him in his ſentiments of diſapprobation as to the fact, but diſagree with him in his ſuſpicions of its origination.

When I call to your recollection ſo diſagreeable a circumſtance, I do it rather as an admonition for the future, than

than animadverſion on the paſt. It is true, Sir, that at the time when every thinking man ſaw the neceſſity of an union of intereſts and affections between his Majeſty's loyal ſubjects of all perſuaſions, the moſt miſchievous induſtry was employed to raiſe an emulation of ill-will, and ſow the ſeeds of perpetual diſcord between the Proteſtants and Catholics. It was indeed the work but of a few, but the undiſclaimed ſentiments of the few are apt to be conſidered as the ſentiments of the many, and therefore they are injurious.

Whilſt I am ready to diſclaim the exaggerated and acrimonious charges with which our newſpapers have re-criminated on the Catholics, although I cannot but diſapprove, as preſumptuous, that ſpirit that would arrogate from futurity, limit the faculties of legiſlation, bind down poſterity, and give to excluſion immortality. Though I reject ſuch notions as unjuſt, and indeed laugh at them as impotent, becauſe, though like the father of Hannibal, you were to carry your ſons to the altar, and make them ſwear never to be at peace with the Romans, yet neither your votes nor their votes could controul future ages. Though I utterly diſclaim ſuch notions as unjuſt and impolitic, I muſt, however, with equal juſtice ſay on the other hand, on the part of the Roman Catholics, there were circumſtances attending the agitation of this queſtion highly exceptionable. In my opinion, it was abſurd in a buſineſs of this kind for the Roman Catholics to ſtate caſes to eminent lawyers, to decide whether their proceedings were or were not defenſible within the letter of the law: It had too much the appearance of a guarded hoſtility; it looked more like the precaution of enmity, than the interceſſion of amicable intercourſe, or conſtitutional ſolicitation.

It is not enough that their applications do not violate the laws, they alſo ſhould not violate the feelings; it is not enough that they are cautious, they ſhould be reſpectful.

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No body of men ſhould for a moment ſuffer themſelves, in their purſuits, to be unmindful that there is a ſettled ſupreme power in the ſtate; to which, ſo long as the conſtitution exiſts, every man owes reſpect; that it may be ſolicited, but it muſt be obeyed; that it may be ſoftened, but muſt not be ſubdued.

When the Roman Catholics ſay, they wiſh to ſhare in the rights and privileges of the conſtitution of their country, they ſpeak the language of reaſon and common ſenſe. The idea is ſo natural to the mind of man, that it was unneceſſary to convene a great repreſentative body of the Catholics, in order to decide, whether it was or was not their general wiſh, to enjoy the elective franchiſe and right of juries. Why, to be ſure it was their general wiſh! No Catholic ever aſſerted or inſinuated the contrary; nor if he did, would any Proteſtant have been dupe enough to believe him. The notion is ſo congenial to the mind of man, that it is impoſſible to controvert or condemn it; nay, there is a virtue in the wiſh, that is a title to its ſucceſs; however, in the proſecution of it, the beſt friends of the Catholics could not but lament, that ſome meaſures were purſued inflammatory and offenſive, tending to revive adverſe prejudices, and retard the accompliſhment of their own wiſhes; and I cannot avoid ſaying, (and I ſpeak from the fatal example of a neighbouring kingdom) that your conſtitution will ſpeedily be extinct, and your liberties proſtrate in the duſt, if you ſuffer conventions, aſſociations, committees or clubs, to aſſert dominion or aſſume authority in the adminiſtration of the public affairs.

I have mentioned thoſe circumſtances of apparent animoſity on both ſides, in order to ſhew that they were the temporary reſult of mutual indiſcretion, incidental to every ſuch purſuit as the preſent; and I have mentioned them, becauſe I think the beſt foundation of mutual reconciliation

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in a review of mutual errors; that being over, let them be forgotten; let them be buried in oblivion, never to riſe again. And as to the charge made by a right honourable friend of mine againſt Adminiſtration for being acceſſary to this work of animoſity, I can aſſure him, I think I can convince him he was miſinformed. I know the preſent Adminiſtration always entertained the moſt liberal ſentiments towards the Catholics, and wiſhed to go as far in their ſervice as the temper of parliament would permit, and they ought not to go farther; and laſt ſeſſion of parliament, in the caſe of the Catholic petition alluded to, if we yielded to a prevailing current, which ran too ſtrong to be reſiſted, it was to make good our paſſage, and ſecure the freight with which we were charged. And let me ask my honourable friend, if he does not, from his own obſervation think, that Adminiſtration may have to encounter ſomething like reſentment for their preſent favourable diſpoſition towards the Roman Catholics?

The right honourable member cannot doubt my ſincere attachment to the preſent government, yet I will aſſure him, at the very time when he ſuppoſes they and their friends were buſy in promoting theſe controverſies, that I myſelf (certainly not the leaſt ſincere amongſt them in my attachment) was employed in publiſhing to the world the beſt arguments my poor abilities could furniſh to reprobate and repreſs them. To my Proteſtant countrymen, I ſaid in ſubſtance what I ſay now, that religious animoſities ſhould expire with the cauſes that produced them; that the excluſion of the majority of the people from the privileges of the conſtitution has laſted long enough; that it could not laſt much longer, and that it ought not to laſt any longer.

That national ſtrength can only be maintained by national unanimity, and that communication of benefits is the only bond

bond of general co-operation. To my Catholic brethren I ſaid, what I now ſay, and always ſaid, that if they like the conſtitution as it is, I wiſh they may ſhare in it; if they deſire to alter it, I wiſh they may not approach it; that if they loved the conſtitution with a pure paſſion, their ſolicitation would be reſpectful, and they would not, like the brutal raviſher, attempt to defile what they wiſhed to enjoy.

I ſhall only add, concerning the Roman Catholics, what I have already repeated to you, that you remember when they came forward to reſiſt the invaſion of a foreign enemy; that you now ſee them come forward to repel the invaſion, not perhaps of foreign force, but of foreign principles, more deſtructive than armies, more cruel than the ſword. The old dangers of popery, which uſed to alarm you, are now extinct to all intents and purpoſes; and new dangers have ariſen in the world, againſt which the Catholics are your beſt and natural allies.

You cannot give them a ſingle benefit that will not be an additional pledge of their affection, and hoſtage for their fidelity. Give them the pride of privilege, and you will give them the principle of attachment; admit them within the walls of the conſtitution, and they will defend them.

Doctor Duigenan ſaid; Mr. Speaker, as the right honourable gentleman, who has preſented this petition, and brought forward this motion, has at the ſame time ſtated to this houſe, the heads of this intended bill; and as I have the misfortune to differ in opinion with the right honourable gentleman on every one of theſe heads, though I have had the honour heretofore of generally concurring in opinion with him on political ſubjects, I think it a duty I owe to my king and country fully to explain my ſenti-

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ments on the buſineſs now before the houſe, as it is pretty generally known that his Majeſty's ſervants in this kingdom have taken up this buſineſs in conſequence of an impreſſion made on his Majeſty and his miniſters in England, that the Roman Catholics of this kingdom labour under many ſevere oppreſſions from the effects of ſeveral of the preſent exiſting laws; and ſuch impreſſion has been made by means of a petition to his Majeſty at St. James's, on the 2d day of January laſt; which petition has been lately printed, and circulated through this kingdom with great induſtry. I ſhall firſt examine the contents of that petition as the ground-work, on which is to be erected the vaſt ſtructure of Roman Catholic grandeur and power; the plan of which is delineated in the heads of the propoſed bill, as explained to the houſe by the right honorable gentleman.

When the petition, preſented lately to his Majeſty, by and on behalf of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, firſt made its appearance in the public prints, it was inſiſted upon, as well in the Houſe of Lords as in the Houſe of Commons, that the copy of this petition, inſerted in the newſpapers, contained a great number of groſs miſrepreſentations, and direct and notorious falſe-hoods; the ſub-committee of the Roman Catholics being a kind of permanent body ſelected out of their general convention, have thought fit, by way of anſwer to the obſervations on their petition made in parliament, to publiſh their petition in a pamphlet, with notes, and the following advertiſement prefixed to it:

"SUB-COMMITTEE,

"January 12th, 1783

"Denis Thomas O'Brien in the Chair.

"It having been publicly and ſolemnly aſſerted, that the "petition of the Catholics to his Majeſty, contained many "falſehoods and miſrepreſentations;

"Reſolved

"Reſolved therefore, that it is neceſſary to republiſh "that petition, with notes, reciting the different acts of "parliament, on which the alledged falſehoods and miſ- "repreſentations are grounded.

"Signed by order,

JOHN SWEETMAN, Sec.

I ſhould not condeſcend to take notice of this ſub-committee, or their pamphlet, were it not that they furniſh me with an authentic copy of this famous, or rather infamous, petition; every page and almoſt every line of which teems with miſrepreſentation or falſehood: and as the Catholics have by this ſyſtem of untruth, deception, and fraud, impoſed ſo far on his Majeſty's miniſters in England, as to procure a paragraph to be inſerted in the ſpeech from the throne recommending in the King's name to our ſerious conſideration the ſituation of his Majeſty's Catholic ſubjects, and that we ſhall conſider the ſame liberality; that is, that we ſhall conſider with attention and favour the ſituation of the Catholics of this country, as moſt falſely deſcribed in their petition; and as no man in his Majeſty's dominions is more firmly attached to his Majeſty's perſon and government than I am, nor has on every occaſion, where I have had an opportunity of exerting myſelf, more clearly manifeſted that attachment, I have beſtowed on this petition that is, this alledged ſituation of the Catholics of this country, my moſt ſerious attention, according to the recommendation in the ſpeech; and I ſhall, as briefly as I can, ſtate to this houſe my opinion of this petition, and mark the principal miſrepreſentations and falſehoods contained in it; in hopes that my voice, however weak, may reach the throne, and rouſe the juſt indignation of our ſovereign againſt a ſet of perſons who have, by fraud and impoſition, audaciouſly attempted to procure his countenance,

to

to the unhinging and disjointing the whole frame of his Irish government; and uprooting foundations which have been laid by wise antiquity, and supported and maintained by the sage policy of two centuries; and which have been strong enough to resist and repel the shocks of three general and most formidable rebellions of the Catholic inhabitants of this kingdom, since the commencement of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, of most glorious memory indeed.

This petition commences with deception. The petitioners, on the title of it, denominate themselves Catholics, whereas they are Roman Catholics, that is, they are persons who acknowledge the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, a foreign prince, in spirituals, as all the Irish who stile themselves Catholics, do; and will not allow his Majesty to be the supreme head of the church within this kingdom; nor will they take the oath of supremacy; and I shall demonstrate, before I sit down, that a very great portion of temporal power is incident to, and cannot, by any device, be separated from, the spiritual supremacy, avowed by the Catholics of this kingdom to be vested in the bishop of Rome: at present, I only just mark the fallacy contained in the very title of this petition, and which is invariably pursued, in this point, through the whole; in which the petitioners constantly stile themselves Catholics without the addition of Rome. It is thus "old tales represent the devil when he appears to mortals, cautiously concealing the cloven foot."

The petition then states, that the Catholics of Ireland (as they stile themselves) have for a century last past behaved with uninterrupted loyalty; in which time five foreign wars, and two domestic rebellions, have occurred; and that they have taken every oath of allegiance and fidelity to his Majesty, and have given, and been ready to give, every pledge

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which can be deviſed, for their peaceable demeanor, and unconditional ſubmiſſion to the laws.

This ſhort paragraph contains two notorious falſehoods; Firſt, they have not, for a century paſt, behaved with uninterrupted loyalty to the king or ſtate, but have exerted themſelves in all the five foreign wars, and two domeſtic rebellions, which have occurred within theſe hundred years laſt paſt, againſt their king and country, to the utmoſt of their power and ability, and have diſturbed this country, and are now diſturbing it, with many tumultuous riſings in many parts of the country, in which they have practiſed the moſt inhuman barbarities on the perſons of the clergy and gentry, and committed various murders, burglaries and robberies on them, within that ſpace of time.

After the ſurrender of Limerick, in October 1691, the Iriſh Catholics (who had for two years before perſiſted in a moſt obſtinate rebellion, which had almoſt reduced the country to a deſart, and in which they had committed all ſorts of barbarities on the Proteſtants of this country) to the amount of twenty thouſand men, preferred going to France, and ſerving the armies of that power, the natural enemy of Britain, againſt their own country. In the military articles of capitulation of the city of Limerick, they had procured an article to be inſerted, ſtipulating for their tranſportation to France. The Britiſh generals, after the ſurrender of the town, exerted themſelves to perſuade the Catholic army to relinquiſh their intention of going to France, and to ſtay at home, and follow their different occupations, in their own country; or if they preferred the trade of war, General Ginkle offered to enliſt them in the Dutch ſervice: theſe offers they almoſt to a man rejected; and this Catholic army, conſtantly recruited and officered by the Catholics of this kingdom, have remained ever ſince in

in the French ſervice, and have uniformly fought, with the greateſt inveteracy, againſt this country, in the five wars with France, which have been waged during the laſt hundred years, at the battles of Fontenoy and Laffelt, in the war with France which ended in 1746. A body of ſixteen thouſand Iriſh Catholics fought in the army of France againſt Great Britain in the American war; a large body of Iriſh Catholics, in the ſervice of France, fought, as well on the continent of America, as in the Weſt-India iſlands, againſt Great Britain; and their exploits againſt their country, at Savannah, at St. Lucia, at St. Kitts, and St. Euſtatia, may be found in the journals of the times, and in the accounts of that war. Stapleton, an Iriſh Catholic from the county of Limerick, commanded a body of 500 Iriſh Catholics in the pay of France, at the battle of Culloden in 1746, and he died at Inverneſs of the wounds he received in that battle, fighting for the pretender. All the French privateers which infeſted this channel during the late war, who plundered the Britiſh and Iriſh merchant ſhips, even in the bay of Dublin, were manned and commanded by Iriſh Catholics—ſuch as John Kelly, John Field, Luke Ryan, Patrick Dowling and others; and they were furniſhed with intelligence, with proviſions, and even with powder, by Iriſh Catholics from ſeveral ports in the channel, in which the wives and families of many of them were then reſident. A large body of Iriſh Catholics have alſo ſerved in the Spaniſh armies, and fought againſt their country in all the wars we have had with Spain during the laſt hundred years. Add to this, the inſurrections of the white boys, all Catholics. in the ſouth of this kingdom, breaking out at intervals for upwards of twenty years paſt, and marked by ſlaughter, deſolation, cruelty, and the moſt bitter animoſity againſt proteſtant clergy as well as laity; and the preſent inſurrections of the lower order of Catholics in the counties of Louth, Meath, Cavan, and Monaghan, and

now

now ſpreading into the county of Dublin: whoſe fury is exerciſed in robbing, ſpoiling, and burning the houſes, and the contents of the farm yards of the Proteſtant inhabitants of theſe counties, and aſſaſſinating ſome of them; and this banditti is particularly active in diſarming the Proteſtants, and arming themſelves, with what view it is not hard to gueſs. With what unparalleled effrontery then do theſe petitioners aſſert, that the Catholics of Ireland have, for a century laſt paſt, behaved with uninterrupted loyalty, when the direct contrary poſition is the truth! Can that body of people be ſaid to behave with loyalty to the ſtate, who ſupply and recruit the armies of the enemies, whoſe ſons, brothers and neareſt relations, appear in hoſtile array againſt the ſtate, as well in wars with foreign nations as in domeſtic rebellious; who, for a century laſt paſt, have furniſhed formidable bodies of troops to the natural enemies of the Britiſh empire; who perpetually aſſault and harraſs us with domeſtic inſurrection, robbery and murder; who are only reſtrained by their inability, and dread of Britiſh vengeance, from tearing the bowels of their country; and, by avowed and open rebellion, manifeſting their immortal hatred to the Britiſh name and nation; and whoſe domeſtic impotence is the only ſecurity to the ſtate for domeſtic peace! If ſuch be loyal ſubjects, then is the wretch, who from private animoſity or intereſt has planned your deſtruction, whoſe weakneſs or cowardice prevents him from executing his plan himſelf, but who ſends his confidential bravoes to effect it—an honeſt and honourable man, and your attached and faithful friend! Futile are the excuſes for this their conduct, urged by the Catholics, that they are precluded from ſerving in the Britiſh forces, by the laws, and that they therefore reſort to the French and Spaniſh ſtandards to procure a livelihood. Such aſſertion is untrue, with reſpect to Catholics of inferior degree, as they themſelves ſtate in their petition, that the loweſt departments in the

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Britiſh fleets and armies are largely ſupplied by their numbers, ſo that perſons of this deſcription may get employment at home. But ſuppoſing it true, that Catholics are excluded from the Britiſh fleets and armies, can they find no other ſtates in Europe to enliſt with than the French and Spaniſh? and can they find no other way of procuring a livelihood in a commercial country, than by turning traitors to their king and country? It would not be a ſufficient plea for a highwayman, on his trial for his crimes, to ſay, that his poverty induced him to commit them.

The ſecond falſehood contained in the paragraph of this petition I have mentioned, is, that the Catholics have taken every oath of allegiance and fidelity to his Majeſty; and have given, and been ready to give, every pledge which can be deviſed for their peaceable demeanour and unconditional ſubmiſſion to the laws.

The Catholics of Ireland have never yet taken the following part of the oath of ſupremacy: "And I declare that no foreign prince, prelate, ſtate or potentate, hath or ought to have, any juriſdiction, power, ſuperiority, pre-eminence, or authority, eccleſiaſtical or ſpiritual, within this realm." That part of the oath of allegiance preſcribed to be taken by Catholics, and which it appears, that very few of them (their vaunted numbers conſidered) have yet taken, which relates to the Pope and foreign princes, is as follows: "And I do declare that I do not believe that the Pope of Rome, or any other foreign prince, prelate, ſtate or potentate, hath or ought to have any temporal or civil juriſdiction, power, ſuperiority, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, within this realm." By the Iriſh ſtatutes of the 28th of Henry the Eighth, chapter the 5th, and of the 2d of Elizabeth, chapter the 1ſt, laws now exiſting and unrepealed, the kings and queens of this realm and their ſucceſſors are declared to be ſupreme heads of the church of

Ireland; and by theſe two acts, as well as by another ſtatute of the 28th Henry the Eighth, chapter 13, the authority and juriſdiction, both temporal and ſpiritual, before that time claimed and exerciſed by the Pope in Ireland, are utterly aboliſhed. And by the laſt ſtatute it is enacted, that if any perſon ſhall, by writing or act, maintain the authority of the biſhops of Rome, heretofore uſed in this kingdom, he ſhall incur the penalty of præmunire.

It is very notorious, that all the Catholics of Ireland acknowledge the authority, pre-eminence and juriſdiction of the biſhop of Rome in ſpirituals, within this kingdom; they have always refuſed, and ſtill refuſe, to take the oath of ſupremacy, acknowledging the King to be the ſupreme head of the church of Ireland; they not only refuſe to acknowledge his Majeſty, as the ſupreme governor, ſpiritual and temporal, within his dominions, but declare that another prince has the ſpiritual pre-eminence, juriſdiction, and authority, within and throughout the Britiſh empire; thus, as far as in them lies, robbing his Majeſty of one of the brighteſt and moſt valuable gems in his imperial crown; and without enjoying which, the hiſtory of paſt ages ſhews us, that he is but half a king within his own dominions. That it is impoſſible to wreſt an immenſe degree of temporal power and dominion from the perſon who is acknowledged to poſſeſs the ſupreme ſpiritual power, the experience of all antiquity ſhews. In truth, the biſhop of Rome, (except in two or three inſtances, when he claimed to be lord paramount of certain kingdoms which he alledged to be holden as temporal fees from the temporal patrimony of St. Peter, ſuch as Naples, and England, in the time of King John) never claimed any temperal authority in any kingdom in Chriſtendom, ſave as it was inſeparably annexed to, and connected with, the exerciſe of his ſpiritual power. That the claim of the Pope to ſpiritual authority within the realm, ſupported unequivocally by all the Catholics of Ireland, inveſts

inveſts him, *ipſo facto*, with a vaſt portion of temporal power, can be proved to demonſtration by numberleſs inſtances. I ſhall juſt mention one: on the lawfulneſs of matrimony, depends almoſt entirely the ſucceſſion to all temporal property, whether real or perſonal. Matrimony by the Catholics is held a ſacrament, its validity is entirely of ſpiritual juriſdiction; if the Pope then, as Catholics hold, has the ſupreme and final juriſdiction in this particular, ſee what temporal power he muſt derive from it; he muſt in all caſes decide, whether a perſon claiming under his father or his mother, is entitled to the ſucceſſion to their real or perſonal property; becauſe ſuch deciſion will depend on the validity of their marriage; he muſt decide, whether a party has or has not a right to intermarry with another, or whether a party is barred from that right by conſanguinity, affinity, pre-contract or former marriage; he muſt finally decide on maintenance, alimony, or whether a man is, or is not, to pay the debts of a woman who claims to be his wife; with a thouſand other temporal incidents. Obſerve what opinion the parliament of this country, juſt eſcaping from the fangs of the Pope's uſurped authority, entertained of the temporal effects of the ſpiritual juriſdiction of the Pope, exerciſed in the caſe of matrimony alone.

In an Iriſh ſtatute enacted in the thirty-third year of Henry the Eighth, entitled, "an act for marriages," are the following paſſages: "Whereas heretofore the uſurped power of the biſhop of Rome hath always entangled and troubled the mere juriſdiction and regal power of this land of Ireland, and alſo inquieted much the ſubjects of the ſame by his uſurped power in them, as by making that unlawful, which by God's word is lawful, both in marriages and other things, whereof ſome ſparkles be left, which hereafter might kindle a great fire." The ſtatute then proceeds, "that

"that it was cuſtomary for the court of Rome to divorce parties who had been long married and had iſſue, on the pretence of pre-contracts without conſummation, and of kindred between couſins-german, and ſo to fourth and fifth degrees, and of carnal knowledge of any of the ſame kinne or affinity before, in ſuch outward degrees, to procure money for diſpenſations: whereby not only much diſcord between lawful married perſons hath ariſen, much debate and ſuit at law, with wrongful vexation: and great damage of the innocent parties hath been procured, and many juſt marriages in doubt and danger of undoing, and alſo many times undone, and lawful heirs diſinherited, and marriages have been brought to ſuch an uncertainty thereby, that no marriage could be ſo ſure knit and bounden, but it ſhould lie in either of the party's power to defeat the ſame."

The Catholics of this country, under this pretended ſpiritual power of the pope, in defiance of the ſtatutes of Elizabeth, and William the Third, againſt all Catholics who ſhould attempt to exerciſe any eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction within this realm, have endeavoured, in the point of marriage, to eſtabliſh and exerciſe here, all this reprobated juriſdiction of the pope. It is a very ſhort time ſince I was conſulted as an advocate, by a very humane and worthy baronet, repreſentative in this parliament of a large and populous county, for my advice, in what method he ſhould proceed to procure a remedy for an injured female, on the following caſe: Two tenants of the baronet agreed to intermarry, they lived in the next pariſh to that in which the baronet reſided, and being both Catholics, they were married at the baronet's requeſt in his pariſh, and by the prieſt of his pariſh, and not by the prieſt of the pariſh in which they reſided; after they had cohabited ſome time together, they were cited by the Catholic vicar-general of the dioceſe of Tuam, to appear before him, and he declared their marriage

marriage to be null and void, on the ſingle ground of their having been married by the pariſh prieſt of the neighbouring pariſh, and not by the prieſt of their own pariſh; the vicar-general alledging, that all marriages, celebrated by any other perſon than the prieſt of the pariſh, in which the parties lived, without a ſpecial diſpenſation for the purpoſe, was a clandeſtine marriage, and that all clandeſtine marriages were decreed void by the council of Trent.

Will any reaſonable man aſſert, that the exerciſe of ſuch a ſpiritual power will not directly affect and invade the temporal rights of the ſubject, in his deareſt and neareſt intereſt? I omit further inſtances of the inſeparability of ſpiritual power from temporal, though a thouſand could be given; and I refer any man, who has a mind further to inveſtigate this ſubject, and to convince himſelf, that the perſon armed with the whole ſpiritual power in any ſtate, will neceſſarily have a vaſt temporal power annexed to it, and inſeparable from it, to Dr. Warburton's treatiſe, The Alliance.

From what I have ſaid, I think, I have made it pretty clear, that as long as the Catholics refuſe to take the oath of ſupremacy, and perſiſt in ſuch refuſal; and whilſt they deny and impugn that ſupremacy, and maintain the ſupremacy in ſpirituals of a foreign potentate, it is an impudent untruth to aſſert, that they have taken every oath of allegiance and fidelity to the king; every pledge which can be deviſed for their peaceable demeanour, and unconditional ſubmiſſion to the laws. And I ſubmit it to this houſe, that I have clearly ſhewn, that the two foundations on which they build their whole merits in this petition, are fallacious, unſubſtantial, and rotten; and that conſequently, the whole ſuperſtructure muſt fall to the ground.

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The next three paragraphs in this petition ſtate, that Catholics are excluded from every office of truſt or emolument, civil or military, from all offices in corporations; and that the law forbids them to found or endow any univerſity, college or ſchool for the education of their children. It is to be obſerved, that the condition of the Catholics in this kingdom, is the very ſame with the condition of all diſſenters from the eſtabliſhed church in England, in all the above particulars, except that the Engliſh Proteſtants Diſſenters may found ſchools; and that it is highly unreaſonable in the Iriſh Catholics to expect, that the exiſting laws here ſhould be changed in thoſe particulars, till the Engliſh nation ſhall think fit to repeal the teſt and corporation acts, and admit Catholics to all employments of truſt and profit, civil and military; into all their corporate bodies; and permit them to found and endow univerſities, colleges and ſchools, for the home manufacture of Romiſh prieſts; a meaſure which I will venture to affirm, no Engliſh miniſter will preſume to attempt. But it is here to be obſerved, that if the Iriſh law, which excludes Catholics from all military employments, was to be repealed, they could reap no advantage from it; for the fleet is entirely Britiſh, and the employments in it are diſpoſed of to ſuch perſons only as are qualified to take them by the Engliſh laws, which exclude Catholics. The ſame may be ſaid of all employments in the army, for they are diſpoſed of by the king, and the whole army is Britiſh; though part of it, whilſt employed in this country, is paid by this country, and is, therefore, ſaid to be on the Iriſh eſtabliſhment. If the King ſhould confer military commiſſions, in ſuch part of his army as is on the Iriſh eſtabliſhment, on Catholics, he would act in direct violation of the Engliſh laws; which we may reſt aſſured his preſent Majeſty never will. And if the acts which exclude Catholics from military employments were repealed in Ireland, and Catholics appointed to ſuch

employments,

employments, the moment any regiment on the Iriſh eſtabliſhment ſhould be ordered out of the kingdom, all commiſſions of Catholics ſerving therein, would be null and void. This excluſion of Catholics from all places of truſt or emolument, civil or military, is thus with peculiar modeſty deſcribed in the petition: "A proſcription which "diſregards capacity or merit, admits of neither qualificati-"on or degree, and reſts as an univerſal ſtigma of diſtruſt "upon the whole body of Catholics." Is not this moſt decent language for petitioners? They inſert in their petition, the bittereſt invective againſt the general policy of the Britiſh conſtitution; and to miſlead the ignorant of their perſuaſion, they repreſent themſelves as being ſolely affected by the excluſion, though it extends, in general, to all diſſenters from the eſtabliſhed church: and I am bold to ſay, as no claſs of diſſenters amongſt his Majeſty's ſubjects, except the Roman Catholics, deny the King's ſupremacy, in ſpirituals, ſo far as to veſt it in a foreign potentate; that they, more particularly than any other claſs of diſſenters, ſhould be the objects of diſtruſt to the government, and excluded from all places of truſt or profit, civil or military, as they acknowledge two ſovereigns, and divide their allegiance betwen two maſters, by a ſort of ideal boundary, in its own nature incapable of being defined.

The next obſervation, in their petition, is a rank miſrepreſentation, to wit, "That their excluſion from corpo-"rations gives an advantage over Catholics, to the mem-"bers of them, who thereby eſtabliſh through the kingdom "a ſpecies of qualified monopoly, uniformly operating in "the diſfavour of Catholics, contrary to the ſpirit and "highly detrimental to the freedom of trade." By this miſrepreſentation, the Catholics endeavour to induce his Majeſty to believe, that it is unjuſt, impolitic, and detrimental to trade, to permit any corporation to continue within

within this kingdom, and that they ſhould be, therefore, all diſſolved and aboliſhed, or that they ſhould be opened, that is, (conſidering their numbers) ſurrendered into the hands of the Catholics." Theſe two ſchemes, reſpecting corporations, are the favourite plans of the preſent ſet of reformers of the conſtitution; a kind of levelling independent, republican, deiſtical faction; whoſe apoſtles are, Paine, Price, and Prieſtley. The members of corporations being all Proteſtants, and returning Proteſtant members to Parliament, certainly form a ſtrong barrier againſt the projected invaſion of the Catholics; and corporations thus modelled, are the bulwarks of the Proteſtant conſtitution of this country: forty boroughs were created in the reign of James the Firſt, when the crown had a right by its patents to create boroughs, for the expreſs purpoſe of throwing the balance into the ſcale of the Proteſtants in parliament; which meaſure was moſt violently oppoſed by the Catholics of that age; and we ought to guard our boroughs, with a vigilance and activity, proportioned to the violence of the exertions of the united factions of levellers and Catholics, either to deſtroy, or engroſs them. But it is utterly untrue, that the members of any corporation in this kingdom derive any advantage in trade over others who are not members of it; this falſehood was ſtuffed into the petition, to aggravate the bead-roll of pretended grievances of Catholics. What advantage in trade have the members of the corporations of Dublin, Waterford, and Cork, over the Catholic inhabitants of thoſe cities? When Paine, Prieſtely, and Price, firſt publiſhed their ſeditious traſh, reflecting on the conſtitution eſtabliſhed, on the ſcore of unequal repreſentation of the people in the houſe of Commons, and inſtanced Mancheſter and Birmingham as having no repreſentives in Parliament, whilſt towns of little or no note returned repreſentatives; the wealthy traders, both of Mancheſter and Birmingham, reprobated the idea of their being converted

verted into corporate towns; juſtly dreading evil conſequences to their induſtry and trade, from riots, drunkenneſs, and diſſipation, attending the canvaſſing for votes, and the elections of repreſentatives in parliament. Theſe great and opulent towns find no advantages in trade from their not being corporate towns, and from their not enjoying the expenſive franchiſes of corporate bodies, nor have the Catholics of Ireland any cauſe whatever to complain on a ſimilar account.

Another grievance the Catholics complain of in their petition, that they are interdicted from obtaining degrees in the univerſity of Dublin (if they are ſerious in conſidering it a grievance, which I muſt doubt) is what I hope I ſhall never ſee redreſſed; Catholics have a right, as the law now ſtands, to ſet up and eſtabliſh ſchools in every part of the kingdom, for the education of their youth; let that content them, and let them not expect to obtrude themſelves into a participation of the emoluments of an univerſity, founded, and partly endowed by Elizabeth, the great patroneſs of the reformed religion, and whoſe endowments have been augmented by our ſucceſſive monarchs, for the ſole purpoſe of planting in this kingdom a learned Proteſtant colony, for the education of a pious miniſtry, and the ſupply of miſſionaries to reclaim the bigotted and ignorant natives from the errors of Popery. God forbid, that I ſhould ever ſee the pious intentions of the royal founders fruſtrated, by the converſion of this ſeminary, and its revenues, to the ſupport and encouragement of Popery, or its hallowed walls made the reſidence of ſuperſtition and treaſon; if, however, it ſhall be determined by our rulers that our univerſity ſhall be opened to the Catholics, let the Britiſh miniſtry lead the way, and firſt procure an act of parliament in England, for opening the Engliſh univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge to Catholics, from attaining any degree,

degree in which Catholics are barred by Engliſh acts of Parliament, and then, perhaps, the bitter potion of conferring academical degrees, in the univerſity of Dublin, on Catholics, may be more readily ſwallowed by the infatuated, betrayed, and deſerted Proteſtants of this country. It is here neceſſary to remark, that Catholics are not interdicted from obtaining degrees in the univerſity of Dublin, by the charter and ſtatutes of that univerſity only; but by the Iriſh act of the 2d of Eliz. chap. 1. ſec. 20, which, though enacted before the foundation of the univerſity of Dublin, yet, by ſpecial words, extends to all univerſities, which ſhould, after the date of that act, be founded or eſtabliſhed in this kingdom.

The next paragraph of the petition relates to the laws, which reſtrain papiſts from carrying arms; laws certainly very neceſſary when they were enacted, and, from recent experience, very proper to be now rigorouſly enforced. Excluſive of the direct falſity of part of this paſſage, no paragraph ever teemed with groſſer miſrepreſentation and fraud; if ſuppreſſion of the neceſſity of enacting them, of all circumſtances of mitigation and exception in the laws themſelves, and of their duration, execution, and effects, are to be conſidered as miſrepreſentation and fraud.

Firſt, the petition ſtates, that Catholics are totally prohibited from keeping, or uſing weapons for the defence of their houſes, families, and perſons, whereby they are expoſed to the violence of burglary, robbery, or aſſaſſination; this is at once a ſuppreſſion of truth, and a ſuggeſtion of falſehood; they ſuppreſs the truth, that all the ſtatutes enacted to prevent Catholics from keeping arms in this kingdom, give a power to the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council to licence any Catholic they may think fit, to keep and carry arms; and that no Catholic nobleman, gentleman,

man, or even farmers of reſpectable characters, have ever been refuſed ſuch licences, when they have properly applied for them; and that ſuch licence is to be granted without any gratuity, fee, or reward, ſave one ſhilling for the writing thereof; and they ſuggeſt a falſehood in ſtating, that they are totally prohibited from keeping or uſing weapons. Next, in mentioning the ſtatute enacted for the ſuppreſſion of a dangerous Catholic banditti, called white-boys, in the 15th and 16th years of his preſent Majeſty's reign, who ravaged ſeveral parts of this kingdom, by intervals, for ſeveral years; exerciſing the moſt unheard-of cruelties on the peaceable and unoffending Proteſtant inhabitants: they ſtate, that every Catholic of whatever degree, peer or peaſant, is compellable by any magiſtrate to come forward, and convict himſelf, of keeping arms for his defence; or, if he refuſes ſo to convict himſelf, he may not only incur fine and impriſonment, but the vile and ignominious puniſhment of pillory and whipping. In this paragraph alſo, the ſuppreſſion of truth, and ſuggeſtion of falſehood, are very notorious and remarkable: firſt, all Catholics are not ſubject to the proviſions of this act, but ſuch only as are not duly licenced by the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council, to keep or carry arms: ſecondly, the act provides, "That no perſon ſhall be convicted, or incur "any penalty, for any offence, upon any confeſſion or diſ-"covery he or ſhe ſhall make, on being examined, on oath, "before a magiſtrate, nor ſhall any ſuch examination be "given in evidence againſt the perſon ſo examined, unleſs "ſuch perſon ſhall be indicted for having committed wilful "perjury on ſuch examination." From hence it appears to be utterly untrue, that any Catholic is compellable by any magiſtrate, to come forward, and by his own confeſſion convict himſelf of any offence, or that he can incur any penalty for an offence diſcloſed by ſuch confeſſion. Thirdly, as the petition is worded, it is inſinuated, that a perſon refuſin

fuſing to appear before a magiſtrate, and to be examined as directed by the act, may incur the puniſhment of fine and impriſonment, and, alſo, that of pillory and whipping; and on this part of the act the petition makes a moſt pathetic, and at the ſame time an inflammatory remark, for the purpoſe of exciting the reſentment of their ſect; but no Catholic, as the act is worded, can be puniſhed at all, for refuſing to appear before a magiſtrate, and be examined according to the act, provided he has obtained a licence for keeping and carrying arms, nor can he be puniſhed in any manner, unleſs he ſhall be indicted, tried, and convicted for ſuch refuſal, nor can the puniſhments of fine and impriſonment, and, alſo, whipping and pillory, be inflicted on the ſame perſon, for the ſame offence; it is left to the diſcretion of the judge, who tries the offender, if he ſhall be found guilty, to inflict the puniſhment either of fine or impriſonment, or that of pillory and whipping. And it is very well known, that when a ſtatute gives ſuch a diſcretion, the puniſhment of pillory or whipping was never inflicted on any malefactors, but on thoſe of the loweſt and meaneſt degree, as were indeed thegenerality of white-boys; for the ſuppreſſion of whom this ſtatute was enacted. The aſſertion, therefore, thatall Catholics, peers or peaſants, may, by the operation of this act, be ſubjected to the ignominious puniſhment of pillory and whipping, is a miſrepreſentation. The petition, alſo, ſuppreſſes moſt fraudulently, the laſt clauſe of this ſtatute, which is in the words following:—"And whereas it is intended that this law ſhall be "in force no longer than public neceſſity ſhall require; "be it further enacted, by the authority aforeſaid, that this "act ſhall continue in force to the 24th day of June, 1778, "and no longer." This ſtatute, it is true, has been continued from time to time, becauſe the diſorders, for the ſuppreſſion of which it was enacted, have continued from time to time; nay, ſimilar diſorders are now committing in the counties

counties of Louth, Monaghan, Cavan, Meath, and Dublin, by a banditti, all Catholics, calling themſelves Defenders, with a malignant activity, which has, as yet, generally evaded or defeated the utmoſt exertions of the ſtanding army to ſuppreſs them. But the Catholic petition has omitted to ſtate, that this act will expire with the next ſeſſion of parliament, unleſs the outrages of their own ſect ſhall render it neceſſary to continue it. It will be naturally ſuppoſed by his Majeſty and his miniſters in England, from the tragical complaints reſpecting the incapability of Iriſh Catholics to keep arms, contained in the petition, that the Iriſh ſtatutes have, in that particular, been rigidly executed. With what aſtoniſhment then muſt they be ſtruck, when informed that theſe laws have been ſeldom put in execution, and then never generally, but in ſmall diſtricts of the country, which have been infeſted by dangerous commotions, and inſurrections of Catholics! Mr. Harris, in his Hiſtory of King William, publiſhed in the year 1745, ſtates, that the act of the 7th of King William, entitled, "An act for "the better ſecuring the government by diſarming Papiſts;" of which the act of the 13th of George the Second, for diſarming Papiſts, is an amendment, has been rarely executed, except upon the apprehenſion of invaſion or public diſturbance; and even then, with all poſſible lenity and moderation: and to prove that the clauſes in the act of the 15th and 16th of his preſent Majeſty, reſpecting the diſarming of Catholics, have never been carried into execution, except in times of public inſurrection and diſturbance, and then too, amongſt the meaneſt of the people; and that no perſon has ever yet ſuffered the puniſhment of pillory and whipping under that act, I can ſafely appeal to the teſtimony of all the inhabitants of this kingdom, whether Catholics or Proteſtants. That Catholics, in any degree ſuperior to the very loweſt of the mob, never had any apprehenſion, that the proviſions in this act were intended to affect them, or

ever

ever would be executed againſt them, appeared moſt manifeſtly during the ſeaſon of volunteering in this country, which commenced ſubſequent to the paſſing of that act; the Catholics, not only mixed with Proteſtants in moſt of the volunteer corps throughout the kingdom, were regimented, carried arms publicly, and learned military tactics; but they formed themſelves into large and numerous corps, well armed, accoutred, and inſtructed in military exerciſe, and marched and appeared in military array on all occaſions, as other volunteers. I ſaw, myſelf, a corps of Dublin volunteers, called the Iriſh Brigade, nineteen in twenty of which were Catholics, march through the city of Dublin, and cloſe to the gates of the caſtle, the reſidence of his Majeſty's Lieutenant, along with other volunteers, to be reviewed in his Majeſty's Phœnix-park. I had the curioſity to count the volunteers on that day, as it was a review of all the volunteers in the province of Leinſter; I ſtood on Eſſex-bridge, and counted them accurately, and as well as I now recollect, they amounted to about two thouſand men, and no more; of which about one third were ſerviceable men, if called to action; of this whole number, the Iriſh Brigades amounted to ſix hundred, and all the other volunteers of the city of Dublin amounted to about four hundred only; ſo that the Catholics of Dublin then in arms, without a man of them having a licenſe to carry arms or having ever applied for one, exceeded all the Proteſtant corps of the city of Dublin, by about two hundred, and this in the view, and, as it were, under the noſe of Government. Does not this prove to a demonſtration, that the better ſort of Catholics never imagined that the ſtatute of the 15th and 16th of his preſent Majeſty tended to, or ever would be put in execution againſt them?

The next paragraph of the petition is one continued miſrepreſentation. It ſtates, that the perſonal property of all Catholics

Catholics is insecure, that the law allows and encourages the disobedient child to conform, and deprive the Catholic parent of it; and that the father does not, by the surrender of his all, purchase his repose, he may be attacked by new bills, if his future industry be successful, and again be plundered, by due process of law. This misrepresentation arises, either from a misconstruction of the acts of the 2d of Anne, chap. 6th, entitled, "An act to prevent the further growth of "Popery;" and of the 8th of Ann. chap. the third, entitled, "An act to explain and amend the aforesaid act of the second of Anne, and the act of the 17th and 18th of his present Majesty, chap. 49;" or, from the scheme of fraud and imposition, so unremittingly pursued through the whole performance; from the notes annexed to the edition of this petition, published by the Catholic sub-committee, I am convinced it did not arise from ignorance, but from premeditated design of imposition. The two aforesaid acts of the 2d and 8th of Queen Anne, the first to prevent the growth of Popery, and the other to explain and amend the first, form but one act of parliament in effect, and are always considered, in law, as two parts of one whole: the act of the second of Anne, in section the third, gives the conforming child of a Popish parent, a right to file a bill in Chancery against the parent, stating the degree and ability of the parent, and his or her conformity, and praying, that the Chancellor may decree a maintenance and portion to such child out of the parent's effects, suitable to the degree and ability of such parent: the portion which the act enabled the Chancellor to decree on such bill, not to be payable till the death of such parent. Under the word *ability*, this act subjected both the real and personal estate of the Catholic parent to the maintenance and portion of the conforming child. The act of the 2d of Anne, the Catholic parents of that age, very easily eluded by fictitious conveyances, judgments, and incumbrances: and there was also some

difficulty

difficulty in determining, what the child ſhould perform, in reſpect to conformity, in order to intitle him to relief under this act: to remedy theſe defects the ſtatute of the 8th of Anne was enacted, giving the conforming child no new remedy againſt the Catholic parent, but it regulates and ſettles what the conforming child muſt *do*, to entitle him to file a bill againſt his parent for a maintenance and portion; and it obliges the parent to diſcover on oath, the true value of his real and perſonal eſtate, over and above all *bona fide* incumbrances; neither is the Chancellor enabled by the 8th of Anne to make any decree on ſuch bill, ſave ſuch decree as he was enabled to make by the act of the 2d of Anne; and he is alſo, particularly, reſtrained, during the life of the Catholic parent, from giving more to his Proteſtant conforming child or children, for ſupport and maintenance, than one third of the perſonal and real eſtate of the parent, and he was left at liberty to give as much leſs as he, in his diſcretion, might think fit. It is admitted, that real eſtates of Catholics are exempted from any charge for their conforming children, by the laws ſome time ſince enacted in this kingdom; but, it is ſuggeſted, that their perſonal eſtates are ſtill liable, which ſuggeſtion is founded on the following quibble: by the act of the 17th and 18th of his preſent Majeſty, it is enacted, "That no maintenance "or portion ſhall be granted to any child of a Popiſh parent, "upon a bill filed againſt ſuch parent, purſuant to the act "of the 2d of Queen Anne, out of the perſonal property of "ſuch Papiſt, except out of ſuch leaſes which Papiſts may "hereafter take under the powers granted in the act of the "17th and 18th of his Majeſty; any thing contained in any "act or ſtatute to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding." The quibble is thus; this act exempts the perſonal eſtate of Catholics from maintenances and portions, which, heretofore, might have been decreed, on a bill filed under the act of the 2d of Anne, and not from maintenances and portions

which

which may be yet decreed, on a bill filed under the act of the 18th of Anne, for it does not at all mention the 8th of Anne; but, I truſt, I have already ſhewn that the bill given to a conforming child under the 2d of Anne, is the very ſame bill given under the 8th of Anne, that both acts are to be conſidered as different parts of one act only; and that if the Chancellor is prohibited by the 17th and 18th of his preſent Majeſty, from giving any portion or maintenance to the conforming child of a Catholic, on a bill filed by ſuch conforming child, purſuant to the 2d of Anne; he is alſo prohibited from giving any portion or maintenance to the conforming child, on a bill filed under the 8th of Anne; for both bills are one and the ſame bill, with reſpect to their ſcope and prayer, and the relief to be given upon them. It is impoſſible to form a bill for maintenance and portion under the 8th of Anne, which will not alſo be a bill for the ſame purpoſe, under the 2d of Anne. And the words in the recited clauſe of the 17th and 18th of his preſent Majeſty, "any thing contained in any act or ſtatute to the "contrary notwithſtanding," form a ſweeping clauſe, including the 8th of Anne, and every other ſtatute, if any there is, which could in any manner ſerve to countenance the quibble; Leaſes for long terms of years taken by Catholics, between the year 1778 and 1782, are liable yet to maintenance and portions for conforming children; but Catholics may eaſily prevent it, either by ſelling ſuch leaſes, or ſurrendering them, and taking new ones for the remainder of the terms. No inſtance can be given of any bill filed in Chancery by a conforming child againſt a Catholic parent, for portion and maintenance, ſince the year 1778; which is a proof, if one was wanted, that no ſuch bill is maintainable: and the Catholics of Ireland may reſt aſſured, that they have full power and authority, as the laws now ſtand, to ſtarve their conforming children, who depend on them for ſupport, if any of them, hereafter, ſhall dare to conform to the Proteſtant religion.

The two next paragraphs ſtate, the excluſion of Catholics from grand juries, unleſs there be a deficiency of Proteſtants; and from petit juries in ſome caſes; and the conſequences, deduced in the petition, of this excluſion, form a maſs of exaggerated miſrepreſentations and falſehoods. Of their excluſion from grand juries, they ſtate the following hardſhips as the conſequences:

Firſt, That they are deprived of that humane and equitable principle of the law, which ſays, that no man ſhall be convicted of any capital offence, unleſs by the concurring verdicts of two juries of his neighbours and equals.

Secondly, That they are thereby deprived of the great palladium of the conſtitution, trial by their peers.

And, thirdly, That it is manifeſt injuſtice, to have their property taxed in aſſeſſments, by a body from which they are formally excluded.

As to the firſt ſuggeſted hardſhip, it is a falſehood. There is no principle of the law which ſays, that no man ſhall be convicted of any capital offence, unleſs by the concurring verdicts of two juries of his neighbours and equals; the verdict of one jury of twelve men, will convict or acquit any perſon who is tried before them for a capital crime; and neither Catholic or Proteſtant commoner, can be convicted of any crime, capital or otherwiſe, except by the verdict of twelve men, his neighbours and equals, (that is, twelve commoners, his peers,) given upon his trial. This falſehood, I ſuppoſe, they will attempt to ſupport by a paſſage in Blackſtone's Commentaries, miſ-ſtated by them, and perhaps miſunderſtood, which is as follows: "That no man "can be convicted at the ſuit of the King, of any capital "offence, unleſs by the unanimous voice, (not verdict) of twenty-four

"twenty-four of his equals, and neighbours; that is, by "twelve, at leaſt, of the grand jury, in the firſt place, aſ- "ſenting to the accuſation, and afterwards, by the whole "petit jury of twelve more, finding him guilty on his trial." And in the preceding page, the ſame author ſtates, "That "the grand jury are only to hear evidence on behalf of the "proſecution; for finding an indictment, is only in the na- "ture of an enquiry or accuſation, which is afterwards to "be tried and determined; and the grand jury are only to "enquire, upon their oaths, whether there be ſufficient "cauſe to call upon the party to anſwer it." Thus it is evident, that a grand jury tries no man, and gives up verdict. Catholics have the ſame advantage as Proteſtants of that maxim of law, that no man can be convicted of any capital offence, except by the unanimous voice of twenty-four of his neighbours and peers; that is, by the aſſent of twelve grand jurors, all commoners, to the propriety of putting the indictment or the accuſation into a way of trial, and to the determination of his guilt, by twelve petit jurors, all commoners alſo, and his peers, on their oaths on the trial, which is called a verdict; and no Catholic can be found guilty of any capital offence, except by the unanimous voice of twenty-four of his neighbours and peers.

The ſecond hardſhip complained of, by the excluſion of Catholics from grand juries, is alſo a notorious falſehood, viz. that Catholics are deprived thereby of a trial by their peers, for a grand jury tries no man, but only puts him upon his trial, and Catholics, as well as Proteſtants, can be only tried by their peers; unleſs the ridiculous aſſertion ſhall be maintained, that Proteſtant and Catholic commoners are not peers to each other, in the legal ſenſe of the word Peers; and Catholics may ſerve indifferently with Proteſtants, in all petit juries, for the trial of all offences, whether capital or otherwiſe, except offences under the Popery laws,

ſuch as enliſting men for foreign ſervice, &c. in which caſes, it would be the higheſt abſurdity to ſuffer Catholics to ſerve on petit juries, to try perſons for crimes, of which they themſelves are daily guilty.

The third hardſhip deduced by the petition from the excluſion of Catholics from grand juries is, that it is manifeſt injuſtice to have their property taxed in aſſeſſments by the grand juries, from which they are formally excluded; grand juries are ſelected from among the principal gentlemen of the counties, at the diſcretion of the ſheriffs; they cannot exceed twenty-three in number, and are not elected; they are impowered by law to lay aſſeſſments on the landholders of the counties, for county purpoſes; all the landholders without diſtinction are ſubject to the payment of their ſeveral proportions of theſe aſſeſſments, which are generally apportioned by the number of acres they reſpectively occupy; the grand jurors themſelves pay as well as others; and all the Proteſtants of a county who are not grand jurors, have as much reaſon to complain of theſe aſſeſſments as the Roman Catholics.

The hardſhip which the Catholics deduce from their excluſion, in ſome caſes, from petit juries is, that they are in a worſe condition, in their native country, than aliens, for aliens may demand an equitable privilege denied to Catholics, of having half their jury aliens like themſelves. The exaggeration contained in this complaint is remarkable; they repreſent themſelves in every caſe which can come to be tried before a jury, as in a worſe condition than aliens, though they are not excluded from ſerving on petit juries on any civil caſe, except on trials of actions between Proteſtants and Catholics; and that too, provided they are challenged, and the challenge proved; and they well know that ſuch challenges are very ſeldom made, nor are they excluded from

from ſerving on petit juries on the trial of any criminal matter whatſoever, except on the trial of offences under the Popery laws; in which caſes, as I have already obſerved, it would be abſurd to permit them to ſerve; the complaint alſo, that they are in a worſe condition than aliens, becauſe queſtions of property between them and Proteſtants may, perhaps, be tried by proteſtants only; (a regulation which their own inveterate hatred of Proteſtants, their univerſal claim to all eſtates in this kingdom, now enjoyed by Proteſtants, as eſtates of which their anceſtors have been unjuſtly deprived, and their envy of the induſtry and proſperity of Proteſtants, made abſolutely neceſſary) ſhould open the eyes of all Proteſtants in this country, and point out to them the guilt and fraud of the Catholic party, who are now coaxing and ſoothing them into a ſurrender of every thing that can give Proteſtants any ſecurity for the peaceable enjoyment of their religion, their lives, and their eſtates, by ſtiling them in their publications, their brethren; when at the ſame time their petition ſtates that they look upon themſelves in a worſe condition than aliens, becauſe their claims of property, and the offences they may commit, are in ſome few caſes of abſolute neceſſity for the ſake of juſtice, to be tried by Proteſtants only; that is, by thoſe whom they have lately affected to ſtile their brethren.

I come now to the laſt complaint in the petition, to wit, the incapacity of Catholics to vote at the elections of repreſentatives in Parliament; this incapacity they ſet forth as the badge of unmerited diſgrace and ignominy; and as the cauſe and bitter aggravation of all their other calamities. In all the prior parts of their petition they deal in bold and ſhameleſs falſehoods, in clumſy groundleſs aggravation, in notorious miſrepreſentation, ſuppreſſion of truth and miſerable quibbles; but on the ſubject of their incapacity of voting, they have exhauſted all their eloquence, all their art, cunning,

ing, powers of deception, falſehood, aggravation, miſrepreſentation, and all piteous and pathetic declamation, which lay within the ſtores of the whole fraternity. They endeavour to perſuade his majeſty, that the deprivation of the elective franchiſe has reduced them to the moſt miſerable ſtate, it is poſſible to degrade human creatures to; that exclusion from the elective franchiſe, ſubjects them to every evil and misfortune to which human nature is liable. After this lamentable exordium, they proceed to ſtate the evils particularly, to which excluſion from the elective franchiſe ſubjects them.

Firſt, That they are taxed where they are not repreſented actually or virtually; and bound by laws, in the framing of which they have no power to give or with hold their aſſent.

Secondly, that it happens continually, and from the malignant nature of the law, of neceſſity muſt happen, that multitudes of the Catholic tenantry in divers counties in the kingdom are, at the expiration of their leaſes, expelled from their tenements and farms, to make room for proteſtant freeholders, to ſupport the intereſt of their landlord, and that this uncertainty of poſſeſſion of the Catholic tenantry, diſcourages induſtry and cultivation, and prevents the improvement of the kingdom.

Thirdly, that many Catholics, to preſerve their families from total deſtruction, and preferring perjury to famine, ſubmit to a nominal conformity againſt their conſcience, and take oaths which they do not believe.

As to the firſt grievance ſuggeſted to ariſe from the excluſion of Catholics from the elective franchiſe, that of their being taxed where they are not repreſented actually or virtually;

ally, and bound by laws, in the framing of which they cannot expreſs aſſent or diſſent; it is proper to obſerve, that in all their late publications, and in this petition, they ſtate, that the Proteſtants of Ireland amount to one-fourth of the inhabitants only, which altogether amount to four million; conſequently the Proteſtants, by their ſtatement, amount to one million. The legiſlature of this country, as well as of England, has thought fit to preſcribe certain qualifications, without the poſſeſſion of which no perſon is allowed to vote for repreſentatives in parliament; and by our conſtitution the legiſlature has an undoubted right ſo to do. One of theſe qualifications, in Ireland, as to voters in counties is, that every voter ſhall have a freehold of the yearly value of forty ſhillings at the leaſt; another, which extends to all voters whether in counties or boroughs is, that the voters ſhall be Proteſtants. It is computed that all perſons who enjoy the elective franchiſe in Ireland, whether in counties or boroughs, do not exceed the number of ſixty thouſand; ſo that there are in Ireland, nine hundred and forty thouſand Proteſtants who do not enjoy the elective franchiſe, admitting, for argument's ſake, the calculations of the Catholics, as to the relative numbers of the inhabitants of this kingdom, to be true; and the number of Proteſtants excluded from the elective franchiſe in Ireland, are to thoſe Proteſtants who enjoy it, in the proportion nearly of eighteen to one; hence, eighteen out of nineteen of the Proteſtant inhabitants of Ireland are in the ſelf ſame condition, in reſpect to excluſion from the elective franchiſe with the Catholics; and if the Catholic poſition is true, are not actually or virtually repreſented in parliament. It muſt be here remarked, that both in England and Ireland, the whole commons in the realm have been hitherto ſuppoſed to be, both actually and virtually repreſented by the houſe of Commons, though the members of the houſe have not for ages paſt been elected by the whole commons of the realm, but by comparatively

comparatively a ſmall part only; that Catholics, by conforming and qualifying themſelves as the laws of the ſtate direct, may attain the elective franchiſe, and that all perſons who poſſeſs a capability of becoming electors, though not actually electors, are ſuppoſed to be repreſented in parliament. I will not here enter into any further diſquiſition reſpecting actual or virtual repreſentation, but I will venture to affirm, that in large ſtates, which poſſeſs extenſive territory and population, it is utterly impracticable to extend the elective franchiſe to all conditions of people, and at the ſame time ſupport any regular form of government; and that the plan of election, now adopted by the French aſſaſſins, will, as long as it laſts, be attended by anarchy, public confuſion, and calamity.

The ſecond evil which the petition ſtates, that Catholics endure by their excluſion from the elective franchiſe, and on the ſcore of which they utter the moſt pitiful exclamations, is, "that ſuch is the malignity of this law of excluſion, that from its very nature, it is the cauſe of the expulſion of the Catholic tenantry from their farms, of the uncertainty of their tenures, and of the conſequent deſolation of the kingdom." This is one of the moſt impudent falſehoods that ever was advanced in any age or country; there is ſcarce one gentleman in this houſe acquainted with the internal ſtate of this country, who does not know it to be a falſehood; it being now the almoſt univerſal mode of letting lands in Ireland, for the landlord to advertiſe his lands at the expiration of a leaſe, to be let to the beſt and higheſt bidder, and to let them accordingly, without conſidering the religion of the tenant, but merely his ſolvency, and the price he offers; but I will demonſtrate it to be a falſehood from their own ſtate of their caſe and their own reaſoning. The Catholics of Ireland, as they ſtate, amount to three-fourths of the whole inhabitants; the Proteſtant inhabitants can, therefore, amount

amount only to the one-fourth; the Catholics, who apply themſelves to farming and country buſineſs, exceed the Proteſtants of the ſame claſs in a much greater proportion than their relative numbers bear, from reaſons not now neceſſary to enumerate; ſo that ſuppoſing the Catholic calculation of numbers to be true, the Catholic farmers muſt exceed the Proteſtants in the proportion of at leaſt ſix to one. Hence it is impoſſible that the aſſertions contained in the Catholic petition, reſpecting the expulſion of Catholic tenantry in favour of Proteſtants, can be truh; becauſe, if a Proteſtant landlord was ever ſo much inclined to expel his Catholic tenantry, and ſubſtitute Proteſtants in their room, it is impoſſible for him, from want of Proteſtants, to gratify ſuch inclinations; and it is evident to demonſtration, from the ſtatement of the Catholics in the petition, that ſix parts in ſeven of the kingdom muſt be laid waſte, and the Proteſtant landlords all ruined, if they ſhould expel their Catholic tenantry, in expectation of procuring Proteſtant tenants. Thus I have convicted the Catholics of downright falſehood in this particular, from their own ſtatement in their petition.

The third grievance, which the petition alledges to be a conſequence of the excluſion of Catholics from the elective franchiſe, and for the remedy of which they appeal with the greateſt energy to his Majeſty's piety, clemency, and commiſeration, is, that ſeveral Catholics, to prevent themſelves from being expelled from their farms, and thereby, with their families becoming the prey of famine, conform to the Proteſtant religion againſt their conſciences, and perjure themſelves by taking oaths they do not believe. I have already ſhewn that no ſuch grievance as the expulſion of Catholics from their farms in conſequence of electioneering ſchemes exiſts, or ever did exiſt, in this kingdom: and if the ſtatement of the Catholics, contained in their petition, be

be true, it is impoſſible it could, or can exiſt, and therefore no ſuch conſequence can follow from it as this third pretended grievance. I do indeed admit, that at all county elections in this kingdom, there are to be found Catholics wicked enough to perjure themſelves by ſwearing that they are not Catholics, to enable themſelves to vote; and this is partly admitted in the writs of Edward Byrne, after mentioned; but they do this voluntarily, and are not induced by any neceſſity or cauſes, ſave their depravity, avarice, and perhaps ambition, to do ſo; and I hope the election laws in this kingdom will be never changed on account of ſuch wicked miſcreants, who are as ready to perjure themſelves on any other account, if paid for it, as on elections; and who have cauſed the words "Iriſh evidence" to be echoed throughout Great Britain, as terms of proverbial diſgrace to this country.

The petition, after ſtating a ſtring of grievances, which I have ſhewn never had exiſtence, as proceeding from the excluſion of Catholics from the elective franchiſe, then proceeds to claim this franchiſe as a right, and founds the claim of right of the Catholics on as bold untruths as any contained in the former part of their petition, or rather bolder; for the principal falſehood on which the petitioners ground it, ſtands refuted by the public records, by act of parliament, and by hiſtory; and this falſehood alſo, includes a libel on the Proteſtant government of this country ſince the revolution, as groundleſs and malicious as ever yet was publiſhed. The petition ſtates, "That the right of franchiſe, "that is, of elective franchiſe, was ſecured, at leaſt to a "great part of the Catholic body, by the treaty of Limerick, in 1691, guaranteed by King William and Queen "Mary, and finally confirmed and ratified by parliament; "notwithſtanding which, and in direct breach of the public faith of the nation, thus ſolemnly pledged, for which their

" their anceſtors paid a valuable conſideration, in the ſur-
" render of their arms and a great part of the kingdom, and
" notwithſtanding the moſt ſcrupulous adherence on the
" part of the Catholics on the terms of the ſaid treaty, and
" their unremitting loyalty from that day to the preſent,
" the ſaid right of elective franchiſe was finally and univer-
" ſally taken away from the Catholics of Ireland, ſo late as
" the firſt year of his Majeſty King George the Second."
It will not be very difficult to expoſe the notorious falſe-
hoods of every part of this paragraph. The whole body of
Iriſh Catholics, after the abdication of King James II. in
England, took up arms, under the pretence of ſupporting
his title to the crown of Ireland; but in reality for the pur-
poſe of overturning the Proteſtant eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment
in this kingdom, and ſubſtituting Popery in its ſtead; and
of ſeparating this country for ever from England; as all per-
ſons who have read the proceedings of the pretended parlia-
ment held in Dublin, under the authority of King James in
1689, muſt be convinced. The Proteſtants of this kingdom
took up arms in their own defence, and were ſupported by
a formidable army, ſent from England by King William, to
their aſſiſtance; after two years of a bloody and deſtructive
civil war, the Catholic forces, every where routed and
defeated, were driven into the city of Limerick, in which,
in the autumn of the year 1691, they were cloſely beſieged
by the generals of King William, and the Proteſtant army
under their command. Pent up in this city, the Catholic
army was reduced to enter into articles of capitulation with
the general of King William, the Baron de Ginckle, on
the third day of October, 1691, which capitulation is ſtiled,
the military articles of Limerick; theſe military articles
relate ſolely to the Catholic regular army and rapparees, a
kind of irregular Catholic banditti, then in arms in the
counties of Limerick, Cork, Clare, and Kerry, and to the
garriſon of the town of Sligo, which had ſurrendered on
the

the 15th of September preceding. The chief conditions, ſtipulated by theſe military articles, relate to the ſafe tranſportation into France of ſuch officers and ſoldiers of that army, as ſhould chooſe to embark for that country. Of the whole Catholic army only three principal officers, to wit, Brigadier Clifford, (an Engliſhman); Colonel Henry Lutrell, and Colonel Purcell, choſe to ſtay at home; together with ſome officers of inferior rank, and private ſoldiers; the reſt, to the amount of twenty thouſand men, choſe to embark for France, and were tranſported thither accordingly. See Harris's Life of King William, pages 351 and 352.

Excluſive of this military capitulation, there was another capitulation ſigned by the lords juſtices and General Ginckle on the one part, and by the Catholic gentlemen of landed property, amongſt whom were Sir Garret Dillon, Sir Theobald Butler, and John Brown, Eſq. three Catholic lawyers of great eminence, on the other part. This capitulation is called, the Civil Articles of Limerick; they are twelve in number, with a kind of poſtſcript, ſolely relating to Colonel John Brown, and the firſt of them only relates to Roman Catholics (not Catholics) of Ireland in general, and is confined entirely to certain ſtipulations reſpecting the exerciſe of their religion. The laſt of theſe articles is in the words following: "Laſtly, the lords Juſtices and general "do undertake, that their Majeſties will ratify theſe articles "within the ſpace of eight months or ſooner, and uſe their "utmoſt endeavours that the ſame ſhall be ratified and con-"firmed in parliament." It is proper here to obſerve, that as the King has no power by our conſtitution, to make laws by his own authority to bind his ſubjects, laws reſpecting internal government and the regulation of his kingdom, muſt be enacted by parliament. The King, his deputies or generals, had no power to contract abſolutely with the Catholics

tholics of this kingdom, his own ſubjects, then in actual rebellion againſt him, for any civil privileges or immunities whatſoever; parliament alone has the power of making ſuch contracts; and it appears by this 12th article, that the able lawyers who conducted this capitulation on the part of the Catholics, perfectly well underſtood the conſtitution in this point; and they muſt have alſo known, that every law made by parliament, is again revocable and repealable by parliament at any time, when either the ſame parliament, or a ſucceeding one, may think it fit and expedient to repeal it. The crown could not perform any part of theſe civil articles, nor could it contract to perform any of them, except ſuch part of them as related to the releaſe or reſtoration of ſuch eſtates as were liable to forfeiture, or had been ſeized or forfeited, on account of the rebellion, which became thereby the property of the crown; and ſo far, and no farther, could the crown ratify the civil articles of Limerick, or guarantee them in any manner. The Catholic army, as to the reſt of the civil articles, ſurrendered expreſsly on the condition, that the crown ſhould uſe its utmoſt influence to prevail on the parliament to ratify them; ſuch engagement the crown fulfilled with the utmoſt good faith: and if the crown, after exerting its utmoſt influence with parliament for the purpoſe, was unable to prevail on the parliament to ratify theſe civil articles in their full extent, as was the caſe, the capitulation of Limerick was in no wiſe infringed; the crown and the rebel army in Limerick having only contracted, that as much of theſe articles as could be performed by the crown, and as much as ſhould be afterwards ratified by parliament, ſhould be carried into execution.

There is not one of theſe civil articles of Limerick which ſecures the enjoyment of the elective franchiſe to the Catholics of Ireland, or to any part of them, or recognizes in any manner their right to ſuch franchiſe, as ſtated in the petition,

tion, or even mentions it. The article on which ſome Catholic writers have attempted to ground their aſſertions, reſpecting rights pretended to be acquired by the articles of Limerick, is the ſecond article. It is in ſubſtance as follows: "That all the inhabitants or reſidents of Limerick, or any "other garriſon then in poſſeſſion of the Iriſh, and all of- "ficers and ſoldiers then in arms under any commiſſion of "King James, or thoſe authorized by him to grant the "ſame, in the ſeveral counties of Limerick, Cork, Clare, "Kerry and Mayo, or any of them, and all ſuch as are "under their protection in ſaid counties; and all commiſſi- "oned officers in their Majeſty's quarters, belonging to the "Iriſh regiments in being, that were treated with, and "were not priſoners of war, or had taken protection, who "ſhould return and ſubmit to their Majeſty's obedience, "their and every of their heirs, ſhould hold, poſſeſs, and "enjoy, all and every of their eſtates of freehold and inheri- "tance, and all the rights, titles, and intereſts, privileges, "and immunities, which they, and every, or any of them, "held, enjoyed, or were rightfully and lawfully intitled to, "in the reign of King Charles the Second, or at any time "ſince, by the laws and ſtatutes that were in force in the "reign of King Charles the Second, diſcharged of all ar- "rears of quit and crown rent, incurred ſince Michaelmas, "1688, to the day of the date of the articles; provided "that no perſon whatſoever ſhould have or enjoy the benefit "of that article, who ſhould neglect or refuſe to take the "oath of allegiance made by act of parliament in England, "in the firſt year of the reign of King William and Queen "Mary, when thereunto required.

It is now neceſſary to ſee how much of theſe civil articles were ratified by parliament; firſt obſerving, that all the Proteſtants of this kingdom were highly diſſatisfied with the capitulation in general; as the Catholic troops, who had treated

treated them with the greateſt cruelty and ſeverity for three years preceding, were thereby not only exempted from all puniſhment for their rebellion, but were ſecured in the poſſeſſion and enjoyment of all their eſtates, without making the ſmalleſt compenſation to the Proteſtants for all the ravages they had for three years preceding committed on their property. On inſpection of the ſtatute of the ninth of William, chapter the ſecond, intitled, "An act for confirmation of articles made at the ſurrender of the city of Limerick, which act paſſed in the year 1697," (for no ſooner could the Iriſh parliament be prevailed on to ratify any part of thoſe articles,) it will be found that the Iriſh parliament did not ratify the firſt civil article reſpecting religion, or any part of it; and as to the ſecond article, the parliament ſpecially ratified it in the ſenſe and intendment contained in the act, and not otherwiſe. They rejected out of their ratification of it the words, "and all ſuch as are under "their protection in the ſaid counties," thereby excluding all perſons from the benefit of the ſecond article, except the inhabitants of Limerick, and the officers and ſoldiers of the Iriſh army. To the words "all rights, titles, and intereſts, privileges and immunities," the parliament added the words, "to the ſaid eſtates of freehold and inheritance belonging; and that the reſtoration of the perſons compriſed in the ſecond article thus ratified, ſhould only extend, or be conſtrued to extend, to the reſtoring of the ſaid perſons and every of them, to their ſaid eſtates of freehold and inheritance, againſt his Majeſty, his heirs, and ſucceſſors, in as large and ample manner as they ſhould have enjoyed the ſame, had they not been guilty of the rebellion aforeſaid, and not otherwiſe, or in any other manner;" thereby expreſsly declaring, that though theſe Catholic eſtates were reſtored to Catholics, freed from any forfeiture to the crown, yet that they were to hold them ſubject to ſuch limitations, conditions, and reſtrictions, as the parliament of Ireland ſhould,

ſhould, from time to time, pleaſe to annex to them. The act then proceeded to ratify others of the civil articles, but ſome were totally omitted. Any perſon who has an inclination to ſee a full and able refutation of this calumny, that the capitulation of Limerick was infringed, may find it in a pamphlet written by a very learned member of this houſe, (Doctor Arthur Brown, one of the repreſentatives of the Univerſity in parliament,) publiſhed ſome years ago, and lately republiſhed in this city. I have ſaid enough reſpecting theſe articles for my preſent purpoſe;—now let us examine what perſons could become intitled to any benefit under the ſecond of the civil articles of Limerick; certainly the ſoldiers and officers of the Catholic army, and the inhabitants of Limerick, or any other garriſon then in poſſeſſion of the Iriſh (which were two only, to wit, Clare Caſtle and Roſs Caſtle, very ſmall, inſignificant fortreſſes, in which there could be very few inhabitants except their garriſons) and this too, on the condition of their returning and ſubmitting to their Majeſties "obedience, and taking the oath of allegiance, if required." I have ſhewn already that nine-tenths of the Catholic army rejected this condition, went to France, and abandoned their country and eſtates, and the elective franchiſe never was guaranteed by this ſecond article, to the few Catholics who ſtayed in their country, and performed the condition contained in the article, by the words of the article as ratified by parliament. The words of the article are, that they ſhould be reſtored to their eſtates of freehold and inheritance, and all the rights, titles, and intereſts, privileges and immunities, to the ſaid eſtates belonging, as they held them in the reign of Charles the Second; and the act of ratification expreſsly ſtates, that this clauſe in the articles is to be conſidered only as reſtoring Catholics to their eſtates, freed from any impeachment on ſcore of forfeiture to the crown, for their rebellions; and therefore it never can be conſtrued ſo, as to bar the parliament

ment from cutting off from theſe eſtates any privileges annexed to them, the exerciſe of which, whilſt the eſtates remained in the hands of the Catholics, would be prejudicial to the ſtate. The words, "rights, titles, and intereſts, privileges and immunities," are mere words of conveyance and aſſurance; and frequently uſed in conveyances of eſtates, and ſignifying nothing more than that the grantee has, by the conveyance, the full dominion over the eſtates: beſides, it cannot be argued without manifeſt abſurdity, that any privilege annexed to theſe eſtates, very few in number, and very inconſiderable, which the handful of Catholics, who qualified themſelves to take the benefit of the articles, were at the time of the date of the articles intitled to, attached to the perſon of the Catholic; he poſſeſſed any annexed privileges, only in virtue of his poſſeſſion of the eſtate, and they expired with his title to the land; neither can Catholics poſſibly claim any privilege, annexed by the articles of Limerick, to the few eſtates which the few qualified Catholics then became entitled to under theſe articles, as annexed to eſtates, which Catholics have purchaſed ſince the date of the capitulation.

I truſt I have ſaid enough fully to prove that the elective franchiſe was not ſecured to any Catholics whatſoever, by the articles of capitulation of the city of Limerick, in October 1691, and never was guaranteed by King William and Queen Mary, nor ratified by parliament; that the whole ſtate of this buſineſs, as ſet forth in the Catholic petition, is a ſtring of continued falſehood; and that a body of people, who, in defiance of all public records, can carry to the foot of the throne ſo notorious an untruth, and, though petitioners cannnt conceal their hatred and animoſity againſt thoſe whom they affect to ſtile their Proteſtant brethren, but ſtuff their petition with falſe, rancorous, and malignant libels againſt the Proteſtant government of

this kingdom, aſſerting therein that the articles of Limerick were infringed, and a direct breach thereby made of the public faith of the nation, ſolemnly pledged to them, are ſo far from meriting any favour from this houſe as yet, (thank God!) Proteſtants; that this houſe ſhould rather ſeriouſly conſider, whether they ought not to re-enact the penal code of Popery laws, or ſome part of it, which miſtaken lenity has induced them within theſe few years to repeal, and whether the exigency of the times does not now demand ſuch conduct from them.

I cannot forbear here obſerving the deception of this petition, in its introduction of the capitulation of Limerick; it dignifies it by the title of a treaty, and ſtates that the Catholics purchaſed the benefits of this treaty, by the valuable conſideration of ſurrendering their arms, and a great part of the kingdom. Treaty is generally uſed to ſignify an agreement between parties on ſome footing of equality with each other, at leaſt reſpecting the ſubject matter of the agreement; but the buſineſs at Limerick in 1691, was a capitulation agreed to by the Engliſh generals, from ill-judged unſeaſonable mercy, and with a band of rooted traitors, fairly ſou[illegible]down, the refuge of the ſword, incloſed like rats in a tr[illegible] a little town, in a corner of the kingdom, from whence they had no poſſibility of eſcaping, and in which they could make neither effectual nor long reſiſtance; the certain victims of the avenging gibbet, or the ſword; ſuch was the treaty!

As to the conſideration: the Catholic troops at the time of the ſurrender had no fortreſs in the kingdom in their hands, except the caſtles of Roſs and Clare, both of which could be reduced by two ſix-pounders; and the city of Limerick, at that time battered to pieces about their ears, and ſome mountainous tracts of difficult acceſs in the ſeveral

ral counties of Cork, Kerry, Limerick, Clare and Mayo, occupied by detached parties of Catholic troops, without food, raiment or ammunition, and which might have been cleared of them in a few weeks, by a ſmall part of the Proteſtant army; ſuch was their valuable conſideration, and ſuch the conſiderable part of the kingdom, they ſurrendered.

The petition next demands the elective franchiſe for the Catholics as a right, from their unvarying loyalty, and dutiful ſubmiſſion to the laws; from their ſervice in the fleets and armies; and their paying of taxes.

As to their loyalty and ſubmiſſion to the laws, I have already ſhewn the falſity of ſuch a pretence; as to their ſervice in the fleets and armies, I ſuppoſe ſome of the meaneſt and moſt indigent Catholics at times do enliſt in the armies, and enter in the fleet, from all poſts of truſt and emolument in which, as their petition ſtates, they are excluded; but then the Catholics, both gentlemen and yeomen, ſupply, and have heretofore ſupplied the French and Spaniſh armies with ſoldiers and mariners in a much greater proportion. As to the payment of taxes, the Catholics of Ireland are fully recompenſed for it, by being very effectually protected by juſt and equal laws, both in their perſons and properties, without their having any reaſonable demand on the ſtate, to inveſt them with political power and influence, on the ſcore of ſuch payments.

The petition ſtates, that the right of elective franchiſe was finally and univerſally taken away from the Catholics of Ireland, ſo late as the firſt year of his Majeſty King George the Second. This truth is diſgraced by a ſuppreſſion of part of the truth; for they ſhould have ſtated, that it was not the firſt time, nor the ſecond time, that the parliament of

Ireland attempted, by their acts, to disable Catholics from voting at elections for members of parliament; and such was the avowed disaffection of Irish Catholics to the succession of the house of Brunswick to the throne, as settled by the English act, intitled, "An act for the further limitation of the crown, and better securing the rights and liberties of the subject," for many years after the revolution, that the Irish parliament, in the second year of Queen Anne, 1703, thought the obliging of Catholics to take the oaths of allegiance and abjuration prior to their being allowed to vote for members of parliament, was a sufficient bar to their voting on such occasions; and acordingly it was enacted by the act of 2d Ann. chap. 6th, sec. 24, as follows: "And for preventing Papists having it in their power to breed dissension amongst Protestants, by voting at elections for members of parliament, be it enacted, that from and after the 24th day of March, 1703, no freeholder, burgess, freeman, or inhabitant of this kingdom, being a Papist, or professing the Popish religion, shall at any time hereafter be capable of giving his or their vote, for electing of knights of any shires, or counties, within this kingdom; or citizens or burgesses to serve in any succeeding parliament, without first repairing to the general quarter sessions of the peace, to be holden for the counties, cities, or boroughs, wherein such Papists do inhabit and dwell, and there voluntarily taking the oath of allegiance, and also the oath of abjuration, and obtaining a certificate thereof from the clerk of the peace." Again, in the second year of George the First, chap. 19, sec. 7, it was enacted, "That no Papist should vote at any election for members of parliament, without having taken the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, six calendar months before the day of election, and that if he did, he should forfeit one hundred pounds on conviction, half to the informer, half to the king."

As

As all the Catholics of Ireland, who were of age able to take arms, had engaged in the rebellion, in the years 1689, 1690, and 1691, the eſtates of almoſt all the Catoolics of Ireland, except the few who qualified themſelves to take the benefit of the capitulation of Limerick, became forfeited by that rebellion, and were granted to Proteſtants; ſo that after the final reduction of the Iriſh rebels, in 1691, the number of Catholics, who enjoyed freehold or inheritable eſtates was very ſmall, and they were excluded by the laws from all corporations; hence the number of Catholics qualified from their property to vote for members of parliament, was at the time of the pacification of this kingdom, after the revolution, ſo very inſignificant, that they could give no alarm, to, nor excite the attention of the legiſlature; but the caſe began to alter in proceſs of time, and many Catholics had obtained freeholds and eſtates of inheritance before the ſecond of Anne, and became troubleſome to Proteſtants on elections. The legiſlature therefore, in the ſecond of Anne, thought fit to erect the barriers againſt votes, which I have already mentioned. This barrier was ſtrengthened by the act of the ſecond of George the firſt; but Catholic ambition by degrees overturning their religious principles and inducing them to take almoſt any oaths, rather than be excluded from political power; the Iriſh parliament, in the firſt year of George the Second, found it abſolutely neceſſary, for the preſervation of the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment in church and ſtate, utterly to incapacitate all Catholics from voting at the election of any members to ſerve in parliament; which act, in that particular, has been ſtrengthened and confirmed by every act of parliament made ſince, to regulate the elections of members to ſerve in parliament.

Having thus expoſed to this houſe the notorious falſehoods and miſrepreſentation contained in this petition, pretending

tending to exhibit the preſent ſtate of the Catholics in this kingdom; but being really a falſe and libellous complaint to the king againſt the parliament and government of this kingdom, for a century paſt; the principal contrivers and compilers of which are well known in this city to be perſons of the moſt obſcure parentage and meaneſt education, who have accumulated wealth, partly by the moſt infamous means and partly by the indulgence of our conſtitution, admirably adapted to encourage the exertions, and preſerve the acquiſitions of induſtry to every ſubject; perſons who have abandoned all pretenſions to character, and whoſe impudence renders them proof againſt the aſſaults of ſcorn and diſgrace, the furies which conſtantly haunt the libeller and the liar; I ſhall now lay before the houſe, what the real ſtate of the Roman Catholic ſubjects of this kingdom is. It is very plain from what I have already ſtated, that the laws, as they now ſtand, ſecure to them the fulleſt and moſt perfect enjoyment of their religion, liberty, and property, both real and perſonal, together with the compleateſt powers of acquiſition; they are deprived of no advantages enjoyed by Proteſtants, except of political power, which if we ſhall be ſo mad as to give to them, the preſent frame of this government muſt be thereby diſſolved, and the ſtate uprooted from its deepeſt foundation.

In reſpect to their excluſion from all places of truſt and emolument, civil and military, and from corporations, the Iriſh Catholics are on the ſame footing with diſſenters of all denominations in England; Roman Catholics are excluded from degrees in the Engliſh as well as in the Iriſh univerſities; they are equally prohibited in England from endowing ſchools for the education of their youth, as in Ireland; but in both countries they may eſtabliſh as many ſchools as they pleaſe for the education of their youth. Catholics in Ireland are prohibited from keeping arms; no ſuch prohibition is

in

in England; but every Iriſh Catholic of any rank above the mere working artizan or peaſant may obtain a licence to keep and carry arms, at the expence of one ſhilling, if he thinks fit to apply for it; and that the laws prohibiting the Catholics from the uſe of arms have not been put into execution in Ireland, except in times of public commotion, is evident, as thouſands of Iriſh Catholics carried arms during the ſeaſon of volunteering, without having procured any licence whatever. I believe Catholics may vote at the election of county repreſentatives in England, ſerve on grand juries, but certainly they are excluded from voting for repreſentatives for boroughs, becauſe they are excluded from corporations. The only difference then in the ſituation of Catholics in England and in Ireland, is that Catholics in Ireland may be deprived of arms, unleſs they obtain licences for uſing them; that they are excluded from being members of grand juries. unleſs there ſhall be a deficiency of Proteſtant gentlemen of rank to compoſe them; and in a few caſes they may, on challenge, be excluded from petit juries; and that they are incapable of voting on elections of county repreſentatives in parliament.

Whence has this difference naturally ariſen? from the difference of the circumſtances and ſituations of the two countries. The Catholics in England do not amount to one, in one hundred, of the whole nation; they regard all other Engliſhmen as their countrymen, and do not claim all, or any of the landed eſtates of England, as their natural birthrights, except ſuch as they are themſelves lawfully poſſeſſed of; they have not been ſubdued by their Proteſtant countrymen after a ſeries of the moſt bloody conteſts, in three ſucceſſive deſolating wars, nor do they entertain any animoſity againſt them on the ſcore of mutual ſlaughter and confiſcations. In all theſe particulars the circumſtances and ſituation of Ireland are directly the reverſe. To take the

proportion

proportion of Catholics and Proteſtants in Ireland from the petition, the Iriſh Catholics exceed the Proteſtants in the proportion of three to one. The Iriſh Catholics have been ſubdued in three great rebellions ſince the commencement of the reign of Queen Elizabeth by Engliſh Proteſtant armies, and the lands and eſtates of the rebels divided amongſt the ſoldiers of the conquering troops; the deſcendants of which ſoldiers, compoſe at this day the whole, or infinitely the greater part, of the Proteſtants of this country. The firſt great diviſion of landed property in this kingdom, was made by King James the Firſt, who ſucceeded Elizabeth, amongſt his Engliſh and Scottiſh ſubjects, out of the forfeitures of the rebels who adhered to the earl Tyrone, whoſe rebellion was not ſuppreſſed till the cloſe of the reign of Elizabeth. The ſecond great diviſion was made amongſt the Engliſh ſoldiers who ſerved under Cromwell, when he had completely ſubdued the Iriſh Catholics, out of the forfeitures of the rebels, who commenced that atrocious rebellion againſt King Charles the firſt, in which they maſſacred many thouſands of innocent Proteſtants, men, women, and children, in cold blood; the diviſion then made, was in the reign of King Charles the Second, legally confirmed by the act of ſettlement and explanation. The third great diviſion of landed property in Ireland amongſt Proteſtants, was made in the reign of King William and Queen Mary, out of the forfeitures of Iriſh Catholics, on account of the rebellion which was finally quelled in 1691. There is ſcarce a title of a Proteſtant nobleman or gentleman in this kingdom to his eſtate, which is not derived either mediately or immediately from the grants of Elizabeth, of William and Mary, or under the acts of ſettlement and explanation. The Iriſh Catholics to a man eſteem all Proteſtants, as uſurpers of their eſtates; they, to this day, ſettle theſe eſtates on the marriages of their ſons and daughters; they have accurate maps of them; they

publiſhed

publiſhed in Dublin, within theſe ten years, a map of the kingdom, cantoned out amongſt the old Iriſh proprietors; they look for political power only to enable them to aſſert their claims with effect, which they will do if ever they have power, not by tedious forms of law, but acts of parliament, or the ſword; they abhor all Proteſtants, and all Engliſhmen, as plunderers and oppreſſors, excluſive of their deteſtation of them on a religious account; no nation on earth being more wedded to the Romiſh ſuperſtition than the generality of the Roman Catholics; they have but one term in their language to ſignify both Proteſtant and Engliſhman, to wit, "*Saſonagh*." If then the parliament of this kingdom can ever be ſo infatuated as to put the Iriſh Catholic on the ſame footing of civil privileges with the Engliſh Catholic, or on a better; and if the Engliſh nation ſhall ever countenance ſucha phrenſy, the direct and immediate conſequence (excluſive of the utter ruin of all the Iriſh Proteſtants) muſt be, either that this kingdom will be for ever ſevered from the Britiſh empire, or that it muſt be again conquered by a Britiſh army; for in truth the Proteſtants in Ireland are but the Britiſh garriſon in an enemy's country, and if entirely deſerted by the parent ſtate, muſt ſurrender at diſcretion, though, with a very little help, they are ſtill able to repel the common enemy.

The two privileges which the Catholics chiefly complain of being deprived of, as well in the kind of writ iſſued by Edward Byrne (a quondam retail grocer in this city, and their chief deputy to his Majeſty) for ſummoning their convention as in their petition, and which they in a manner demand, are, the privilege that Catholics ſhall be ſummoned on grand juries equally with Proteſtants; and that they ſhall obtain the elective franchiſe, or be rendered capable of voting at the elections of repreſentatives in parliament. Whoever underſtands the important powers, reſpecting the

the due adminiſtration of juſtice, and the maintenance of our conſtitution in church and ſtate, veſted in grand juries, will be convinced that it would be very unſafe to permit ſuch bodies, either in the whole or in part, to be compoſed of Catholics: And if the elective franchiſe ſhall be granted to Catholics freeholders in counties without taking boroughs into conſideration, ſee from their own ſtatement what the conſequence muſt be; they exceed the Proteſtants in every county in this kingdom, for though the Proteſtant diſſenters are pretty numerous in four counties in the North of Ireland, yet even in theſe four counties the Catholics exceed them in number; they compoſe the great maſs of the tenantry throughout the kingdom. Gentlemen of landed eſtates, though Proteſtants, will be ſo far blinded to their true intereſts by their ambition to have numbers of freeholders capable of voting on their eſtates, that they will directly change all the tenures for terms of years of their Popiſh tenants, into tenancies for lives; as Catholics are now alſo intitled to purchaſe lands in fee, they will turn all the tenures under them into tenures for lives; thus, from the ſuperior number of Catholics, there will be immediately in every county a ſwarm of Catholic forty-ſhilling freeholders; and though Catholic freeholders, who have freeholds of twenty pounds yearly value or above, ſhould be the only Catholic freeholders, to whom the elective franchiſe ſhould be extended in this ſeſſion; yet, if the principle of the excluſion of Catholics from voting ſhall at once be invaded, we ſhall find they will ſoon claim and obtain the elective franchiſe for their forty-ſhilling freeholders, and to be put on an equal footing in that reſpect with Proteſtants. Once make a breach in the rampart, and retrenchment will be found inſufficient defences: Such of them as hold their tenures under Proteſtant landlords will revolt from them, and abandon their intereſt on the firſt election, if they ſhall be informed by their prieſts, that their landlords intereſt

militates

militates againſt the political intereſt of their ſect; within a very few years, by their numbers, they will out-vote the Proteſtant freeholders in every county in the kingdom, except two or three, where the Proteſtant intereſt may perhaps prevail for a few years longer, and they will certainly return ſuch repreſentatives to parliament, as they ſhall think moſt favourable to the Catholic intereſt: There is another circumſtance too, which renders the extenſion of the elective franchiſe to Catholic freeholders ſtill more dangerous, and that is, the ſcheme of reform, which is now obtruded on this nation with more than common induſtry, by the miniſters and ſervants of the rump of a diſgraced and reprobated Engliſh faction; whoſe endeavours in Great Britain, to plunge their country into the rebellion and anarchy of the French aſſaſſins, have been lately defeated by the activity of the Britiſh miniſtry, and good ſenſe of the nation. Two plans of reform of the repreſentation of the people in parliament, are ſuggeſted; the one is, the diſfranchiſement at once of all the boroughs, the diſſolution of corporations, and the increaſe of the numbers of repreſentatives for counties, and a few large cities and towns: The other is, the diſfranchiſement of all decayed boroughs; that is, thoſe boroughs in which few or no inhabitants are left; and the opening of all other boroughs, by giving all the freeholders, who live within a certain diſtance of them, a right to vote at the elections of repreſentatives of theſe boroughs. It is evident that in either caſe, the extenſion of the elective franchiſe to Catholic freeholders will enable them to return repreſentatives in parliament, for all or moſt of the boroughs in the kingdom; when no members of the houſe of Commons in Ireland ſhall be returned, but ſuch as are devoted to the Catholic intereſt, it is eaſy to foreſee that all laws excluding Catholics from ſitting in Parliament will be repealed, and that we ſhall have a Catholic houſe of Commons; the grant of the elective franchiſe to Catholic freeholders

holders will make it the direct intereſt of the whole Catholic body to puſh on, either the one or the other mode of reform, with all their power; the deſtruction of the Proteſtant conſtitution in church and ſtate, will be the certain and ſucceſsful effort of a Catholic houſe of Commons; and when the government of this country becomes Catholic, the people of Ireland will be immediately taught, that it is at leaſt as great an abſurdity in politics (if not a greater) to have a Proteſtant King over a Popiſh nation, as it was thought by the people of England in the reign of King James II, to have a Popiſh king over a Proteſtant nation; and as the houſe of Stuart may now be ſaid to be extinct, the Catholics will attempt to form a republic in Ireland, independent of Great Britain, to which their connection with the levelling republican mobs of Belfaſt and Derry, and with the levelling faction of Great Britain, and their plans of reſumption of the eſtates now in the hands of Proteſtants, will alſo very ſtrongly incline them; and as this nation is not able of itſelf to cope with Great Britain, the Iriſh Catholics will again invoke the aſſiſtance of France, which, though now a diſtracted nation, is yet a great and powerful one; and thus will Ireland, as during the revolution war, become a field of battle for Great Britain and France, and be again deſolated; Let the iſſue of ſuch a conteſt be what it may, I am juſtified in declaring, that if the Britiſh miniſters (as has been pretty roundly aſſerted in this houſe) favour the preſent claims and deſigns of the Iriſh Catholics, they are either ignorant of the preſent ſtate of this country, and too ſhort-ſighted and ill informed to diſcern the true intereſt of Great Britain; or baſe enough (which I ſincerely hope is not the caſe) to betray it; and this I will venture to affirm, that if Great Britain ſhall ſuffer this country to be for ever torn from the Britiſh empire, and to become dependant upon, or annexed to France, as one of its departments, ſhe will not long ſupport

port her own conſequence in Europe, or even independence; the French, with the port of Breſt at one ſide of the channel, and the noble ports of Cork, Kinſale, and the Shannon's Mouth at the other, with Iriſh proviſions to victual, and Iriſh mariners to man their fleets, will ſoon become an overmatch at ſea for Great Britain; and may then waft over her almoſt innumerable armies, to make a total conqueſt of the Britiſh iſlands. I will alſo tell Britiſh miniſters another truth, that they are greatly deceived, if they have been induced to believe, that an Iriſh Catholic is, ever was, or ever will be, a faithful, loyal ſubject of a Britiſh Proteſtant King, or Proteſtant Government*.

I will now treſpaſs a little longer on the houſe, to examine whether the preſent conduct of the Roman Catholics intitles them to any favour from this houſe. Edward Byrne, a man not long ſince a retail grocer in this city, thinks fit to ſend circular letters to all the Romiſh prieſts in this kingdom, ſtating, that the Iriſh Catholics laboured under great grievances, in being excluded from the benefit of trials by juries (a baſe untruth) and from the elective franchiſe; and directing them to give notice in their reſpective chapels, of elections to be held therein, of delegates from every Romiſh congregation, to meet in ſome certain place in each county, for the purpoſe of electing a delegate or delegates to repair to Dublin, and there aſſociate themſelves with a number

* It is here proper to inſert a tranſlation of an extract from the oath taken by all Roman Catholic biſhops at their conſecration:

"I will aſſiſt and aid the Popes of Rome to retain and defend the Roman Papacy and the royalties of Saint Peter, againſt all mankind, ſaving the rights of my own order.

"I will take care to preſerve, defend, increaſe, and promote, the rights, honours, privileges, and authority, of the holy Roman church, of our lord the Pope, and his ſucceſſors."

number of perſons, ſtiling themſelves a Catholic committee; and form a convention; to conſider of a proper method to free the whole body of Iriſh Catholics from theſe pretended grievances. The mandates of this Catholic quondam grocer are executed by all the Romiſh prieſts throughout the kingdom, with great punctuality; and delegates to attend and form the convention are regularly elected; the ſame mode of election being preciſely purſued, with that adopted for the election of the convention of French aſſaſſins. A convention of Iriſh Catholics, thus elected, meet publicly in Dublin, they conſult and deliberate together many days in a private manner, excluding all people from their debates, their meeting being public, but their conſultations private; and in the end they compoſe, and produce, a moſt malevolent, rancorous, and falſe libel againſt the Proteſtant government of Ireland, which libel they addreſs and ſend to his Majeſty, under the form of a petition, by certain perſons ſpecially deputed for that purpoſe, at the head of which deputation is the grocer who iſſued the writs for the election of the aſſembly, and they afterwards diſperſe this libel, printed and publiſhed by their avowed authority, throughout the nation, for the purpoſe of inflaming Catholics of all ranks to ſedition and rebellion againſt the government: I heſitate not, as a lawyer, to declare ſuch proceedings unconſtitutional and illegal, and ſuch convention an unconſtitutional and illegal aſſembly; and that the members of it are liable to indictments and informations for ſuch conduct, and to heavy puniſhments when convicted. The Catholics of the lower ranks, are at this moment aſſembled in large bodies, with arms in their hands, breaking into, robbing and burning the houſes of the peaceable Proteſtant inhabitants of the counties of Louth, Monaghan, Cavan, and Meath, and even in the county of Dublin; making public declarations, that they will not ſuffer any Proteſtant to reſide within theſe counties, or in the kingdom; and the contagion

contagion is ſpreading through the nation: So that if the army, conſiſting of Engliſh Proteſtants, had not given ſome check to their fury, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe we ſhould, by this time, ſee the habitations of all Proteſtants in the kingdom in flames, and their perſons butchered, as in the year 1641, this inſurrection of the Catholics being ſo ſudden and unexpected: And every man of ſenſe knows, that the inſurrection of the vulgar, if continued for a length of time, are always privately encouraged and ſupported by perſons of better rank, who conceal themſelves, till the ſucceſs of their inferior ruffians induces them openly to avow their miſchievous deſigns; ſuch are the preſent merits of the Catholic body: Do they entitle them to an extenſion and addition of privileges? Is this a time for delivering the whole political power of the ſtate in their hands? Common ſenſe revolts at the frantic propoſition, ſelf-preſervation, and the experience of ages, loudly call on all Proteſtants to condemn it with every mark of reprobation. I cannot cloſe, without making ſome animadverſions on what fell from a few, thank Heaven! a very few members of this houſe, relative to the preſent queſtion, on the night the addreſs to his Majeſty, in conſequence of the ſpeech of the Lord Lieutenant, was agreed to by this houſe: On the diſcovery, and conſequent publication of the writs of Edward Byrne, for ſummoning a Catholic convention to meet in Dublin, (for they were accidentally diſcovered) the Proteſtants of this country very properly took the alarm; the Proteſtant gentry of ſeveral counties, as well as the inhabitants of ſeveral cities, boroughs, and towns corporate, throughout the nation, aſſembled and entered into reſolutions, expreſſive of their indignation againſt the deſign of Edward Byrne, contained in his writs, as nothing leſs than a ſcheme of a conſpiracy, to raiſe and excite a Popiſh rebellion in this country, which in truth it is. The grand juries of almoſt all the counties in the kingdom, aſſembled

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at the ſummer aſſizes in the year 1792, and conſiſting of the principal Proteſtant gentlemen of theſe counties, expreſſed by their reſolutions the ſame reſentment againſt, and the ſame opinions of, the writs of Edward Byrne; and their determination to ſupport with their lives and fortunes the Proteſtant aſcendancy in Ireland. The corporation of the city of Dublin, the moſt ancient, reſpectable, and numerous corporate body in this kingdom, met in a poſt aſſembly in September 1792, and, without a diſſentient voice, drew up a letter to be ſent to all corporations, magiſtrates, and members of both houſes of parliament in Ireland: This letter in a very clear, conciſe, and nervous ſtile, expreſſed the decided diſapprobation of this the firſt corporation in the kingdom, of the writs of Edward Byrne, and of the claims of Iriſh Catholics to any other privileges or advantages, than thoſe which they then enjoyed. It ſtated, that the Iriſh Catholics ought to be contented with what they then enjoyed; that is, "the moſt perfect toleration of their religion, the fulleſt ſecurity of their property, and the moſt compleat perſonal liberty; and that they ought not now, or hereafter, to attempt any interference in the government of the kingdom, as ſuch interference would be incompatible with the Proteſtant aſcendancy, which the members of the corporation declared themſelves reſolved, with their lives and fortunes to maintain." And then the letter defined the preciſe meaning of the words, Proteſtant aſcendancy, in the following terms:

A Proteſtant King of Ireland—A Proteſtant parliament—A Proteſtant Hierarchy—Proteſtant Electors and Government—The Benches of Juſtice—The Army and the Revenue—Through all their Branches and Details, *Proteſtants.*

And this ſyſtem ſupported by a connection with the Proteſtant Realm of Great Britain.

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In this definition of the meaning of the words Proteſtant Aſcendancy, the corporation of Dublin adhered ſcrupulouſly to the laws of the land; theſe laws confine the enjoyment of all the enumerated offices to Proteſtants only. On the night the addreſs to his majeſty was agreed to, the few gentlemen I have already ſpoken of, without any apparent incitement, and without any reference to the ſubject, then rather diſcourſed of, than debated; but merely, as I conjecture, to ſhew their intention, to ſupport any innovation which might be attempted in the conſtitution in the courſe of this ſeſſion; and their contempt of the opinions of the great bulk of the Proteſtant gentry in this kingdom, broke out into the moſt extravagant invectives againſt the grand juries in the kingdom, and their reſolutions; that is, againſt the firſt Proteſtant gentlemen in rank, character, and property in this nation, and many of them members of this houſe, and their opinions; and againſt the corporation of the city of Dublin; the conduct of which, in publiſhing the letter I have mentioned, was not only reprobated in the ſevereſt terms, but mockery and deriſion were added to abuſe; not with much ſucceſs indeed, for the principal mocker on that occaſion, like General Paoli (as is recorded by his illuſtrious biographer, Mr. Boſwell) never laughs; indeed he cannot, the muſcles of his countenance cannot be relaxed to a laugh, they have been moulded to expreſs the ſerious operations of his mind, which never deviate into the puerilities of mirth and humour. It was alſo aſſerted publicly in this houſe, that the grand jurors of the ſeveral counties in this kingdom, at the laſt ſummer aſſizes, were packed by the ſeveral ſheriffs, by the procurement of government; and that juries, ſo packed, were ſolicited on the part of government, to enter into reſolutions unfavourable to the preſent pretenſions of Catholics. Whatever information then gentlemen who made theſe aſſertions in this houſe, have had, to ground ſuch an accuſation on, I am

certain it was falſe information. Firſt, as to packing grand juries, it muſt be falſe, becauſe the gentlemen who compoſed the grand juries in the ſeveral counties, were the Proteſtant gentry of the firſt rank, as to character and property, in their reſpective counties; 2dly, as to influence of government being uſed to procure them to enter into reſolutions expreſſive of their diſapprobation of the Catholic claims, I have it in my power to deny the truth of it, becauſe I know two particular counties in which the influence of men high in ſtation, and firmly connected with the preſent Adminiſtration, was exerted to prevent, as much as poſſible, the grand juries of theſe two counties, from entering into any reſolutions expreſſing their opinions of the claims of Catholics. The letter publiſhed by the corporation of the city of Dublin, as little merited the reflections thrown upon it by theſe gentlemen, as the reſolutions of the grand juries. It is a letter, which the patriotiſm, and good ſenſe it exhibits, together with the clear nervous ſtile in which it is written, excluſive of the reſpect due to the compoſers, the firſt, moſt ancient, moſt numerous, moſt wealthy, and unqueſtionably loyal, corporation in this kingdom, ought to have protected, at leaſt from the attacks of contempt and deriſion.

I felt no inclination to laugh at that powerful witticiſm played off againſt the letter, by the queſtion, "Is it neceſſary for the ſupport of the Proteſtant intereſt that an exciſeman ſhould be a Proteſtant?" I envy no ſuch wit, nor can I laugh at it; though, thank God, I can laugh upon occaſion. I confeſs indeed, I was vexed to the heart to hear the miniſter in this houſe, by way of clearing himſelf from the accuſation of having exerted influence with the corporation of Dublin, to induce them to publiſh this letter, declare his diſapprobation of the letter, as I then thought, and ſtill think, that every perſon, who has the true intereſt

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of his Majeſty and of this kingdom at heart, and thoroughly underſtands it, ought not only to have approved of the ſentiments contained in it, but to have gloried in them; and I felt at once the ſenſations of the moſt poignant pain, and glowing indignation, to ſee the corporation of the city of Dublin, the capital of the kingdom, and the ſecond city in his Majeſty's dominions, publicly ſacrificed at the altar of Popery; and the Proteſtant aſcendancy dragged forth, like Sampſon, to make ſport for the Philiſtines.

As the gentlemen I have alluded to, have held it heretofore as a maxim, that repreſentatives were bound to purſue the inſtructions of their conſtituents, the contemptuous and ſevere treatment the letter of the city of Dublin had met with, from one of its repreſentatives in Parliament, ſuggeſted to theſe gentlemen the neceſſity of ſome expedient, to veil as much as poſſible this notorious inconſiſtency of political conduct; and what was the expedient reſorted to? Sometime ago a ſociety had been formed in this city, which ſtiled itſelf, the Whigs of the Capital; it was not compoſed of the moſt reſpectable citizens; the conduct of this ſociety, and the deſign of its inſtitution, may be collected from the following anecdote. The whigs of the capital raiſed a ſubſcription, and printed, at their own expence, twenty thouſand copies of Mr. Thomas Paine's works, which they diſtributed through the nation partly gratis, and partly at the low price of one penny; this they ſtiled "diſſeminating political knowledge." The good ſenſe of the nation ſoon diſcovered itſelf, by very general expreſſions of diſapprobation of the conduct of the Whigs of the Capital, and finding the tide running pretty ſtrongly againſt them, they changed their courſe, abandoned the title of whigs of the capital, and having procured ſome gentlemen of more conſideration than themſelves to join them, they formed a new club, under the title of "the Society of United Iriſhmen."

The leaven however of the whigs of the capital, remained incorporated with their ſociety, and ſeveral ſeditious publications having appeared as their literary productions, his Majeſty's Attorney General thought fit to file informations againſt ſeveral publiſhers of theſe productions; and this new ſociety became as unpopular, and as much reprobated, as the whigs of the capital. One of the ſheriffs of the city, however, was prevailed upon to aſſemble this ſociety into a coffee-houſe in this city, and to give them a new name, by ſtiling them an Aggregate Meeting of the Freemen and Freeholders of the city of Dublin; the whole faction aſſembled on this occaſion, and amounted to about one hundred perſons, ſeveral of them of very mean condition, and more than one half of them Roman Catholics. A ſtring of reſolutions was then preſented to this aſſembly, which they readily agreed to; ſome of which reſolutions relating to Roman Catholics, are directly contrary to the ſentiments contained in the letter publiſhed by the city of Dublin. Such aggregate meeting has been publicly declared in parliament to be the city of Dublin; and their reſolutions of the city of Dublin; but ſuch political legerdemain is too clumſily performed to impoſe, even on the moſt inattentive obſerver. The changes in the ſociety I have mentioned, put me in mind of the transformations frequent in the inſect tribe; firſt an aurelia, then a grub, and then a butterfly.

I cannot forbear to make a few more obſervations on the parliamentary conduct of the gentlemen I have been ſpeaking of, on this occaſion; they tell us (on what authority I know not) that the Engliſh miniſter has declared his ſovereign will and pleaſure, that the Iriſh parliament ſhould grant every privilege to the Catholics of this kingdom, they ſhall pleaſe to demand, and that therefore we muſt comply: And they declare themſelves ready to ſecond ſuch views of the

the Engliſh miniſter: What conſiſtency of parliamentary conduct do theſe gentlemen diſplay! They have been declaiming for a ſeries of years, againſt the influence of the Engliſh miniſtry in this houſe; now they openly tell us, that we muſt obey the dictates of the Engliſh miniſter; and that they are ready to obey them themſelves even to the ruin of the nation; they tell us, with the utmoſt exultation and triumph, that the Engliſh miniſter has abandoned the ſupport of the Proteſtant intereſt in Ireland, and is determined to exalt Popery on its ruins; if the caſe be ſo, which I confeſs I do not believe, we have procured the enmity of the Engliſh miniſtry, by the machinations of theſe gentlemen themſelves, and the ſyſtem of politics which their fatal oratory has perſuaded this nation to adopt, for a ſeries of years laſt paſt; from about the middle of the reign of King Henry the Eighth to the reign of Queen Anne, there is a number of acts of the Iriſh parliament, all yet unrepealed, which declare that the kingdom of Ireland is inſeparably annexed, united, and belonging to, and dependant upon, the imperial crown of England; and yet theſe gentlemen have been contriving ways and means for theſe ſeveral years laſt paſt to weaken and deſtroy the ſovereignty of the crown of England over this country; they have turned haberdaſhers of all the Anti-Engliſh meaſures which have been purſued in this kingdom at any time ſince the beginning of the reign of King Charles the Firſt, and dealt out to us by retail, all the motions tending to ſeparate and divide this kingdom for ever from the Britiſh empire, heretofore made by Lord Macguire, Sir Phelim O'Neil, and their adherents, (the authors and contrivers of the rebellion and maſſacre of the Proteſtants of this country in the year 1641) in the Iriſh Houſes of Lords and Commons. They actually induced this parliament to enact into laws, ſome of the acts of the Popiſh convention, aſſembled in this city of King James the Second, after his abdication, and ſtiled

ſtiled by him a parliament; and they have propoſed others of them to this houſe, as proper to be enacted; which, if enacted, would root all the Proteſtant clergy out of this kingdom; in theſe laſt, they have as yet miſcarried, and conſtantly complain of the miſcarriage in their liſt of grievances, recited with great ſolemnity and exactneſs, at the beginning of every ſeſſion. If then, theſe gentlemen are patriots, ſo were Lord Macguire, and Sir Phelim O'Neil, and ſo were the members of the Popiſh convention, aſſembled by King James, all whoſe acts were annulled, and their proceedings ordered to be burned, by the Iriſh act of the 7th of William, chap. the 3d, part of which I ſhall recite to you, to ſhew what the opinion of your forefathers was of this convention and their acts. "It ſtates, that no parliament can be holden in this kingdom, but by and under the authority of the King of England; becauſe the kingdom of Ireland is inſeparably annexed, united, and belonging to the imperial crown of England; from whence it follows that whoever is king of England is, *ipſo facto*, King of Ireland; it ſtates, that ſeveral perſons had aſſembled in Dublin, by the authority of the late King James the Second, and they pretended to be, and called themſelves by the name of a Parliament; and paſſed ſeveral pretended acts and ſtatutes, all which pretended acts were formed and deſigned, in manifeſt oppoſition to the ſovereignty of the crown of England, and for the utter deſtruction of the Proteſtant intereſt in this kingdom; and it enacts, that this convention was an unlawful and rebellious aſſembly, and that all its acts and proceedings ſhould be void, eraſed out of the journals, and burned." Let me juſt ſtop here to contemplate the different fates of patriots in different ages; The Iriſh patriots. Lord Macguire, Sir Phelim O'Neil, and their adherents, periſhed on a gibbet; the members of the convention in 1698, periſhed by the ſword, or were puniſhed by confiſcation and exile; but the Iriſh patriots of the preſent

preſent day who have adopted their politics, and retailed their ſpeeches and motions, are loaded with riches, and decorated with honours. Upon the whole then, it is very apparent that if the Engliſh miniſtry have abandoned the Proteſtant intereſt in Ireland, as theſe gentlemen aſſert, they have been induced to do ſo, by the ungrateful and undutiful conduct which the very gentlemen, who now glory in the depreſſion of the Iriſh Proteſtant intereſt, have led the Proteſtants of Ireland to adopt, in reſpect to Great Britain; and that they themſelves reduced the Iriſh Proteſtants to the ſituation of the ſheep in the fable, whom the wolves, by falſe profeſſions prevailed on to diſcharge their dogs and their ſhepherds, and then worried and devoured.

The ſpeech from the throne does not however warrant the aſſertions of theſe gentlemen, that the miniſtry of England have abandoned the Proteſtant intereſt in Ireland; and that it is the intention of the Engliſh miniſter that we ſhall grant the Iriſh Catholics all privileges they may think fit to demand. It deſires us only "ſeriouſly to conſider the ſituation of the Iriſh Catholics, and conſider it with liberality for the purpoſe of ſtrengthening and cementing a general union of ſentiment among all claſſes and deſcriptions of his Majeſty's ſubjects, in ſupport of the eſtabliſhed conſtitution," and the LordLieutenant in the ſpeech declares, "that he will ſtrenuouſly exert the power with which he is entruſted, for the maintenance of the conſtitution in church and ſtate, as the beſt ſecurity for the liberty of the ſubject, and the proſperity of Ireland." And I have, according to the recommendation in the ſpeech, ſeriouſly conſidered the real ſtate of the Catholics of Ireland, which I find to be a ſtate of perfect ſecurity both of their liberty and property; and not that ſtate untruly depicted, in that falſe and acrimonious libel, their petition to his Majeſty. The

opinion

opinion I have formed on the whole matter, is that it is utterly inconſiſtent with the ſafety and preſervation of the preſent Iriſh conſtitution in church and ſtate, and utterly incompatible with the true intereſt of the whole Britiſh empire to inveſt the Catholics with any other privileges than they now are by law entitled to, and I will therefore oppoſe this bill, in every ſtage of it; convinced as I am in my conſcience, that by acting thus, I do my duty to my God, my king and my country. I utterly from my heart diſclaim the operation on my mind, of any partial or intereſted views, in thus forming and delivering my ſentiments on this occaſion. I oppoſe the preſent pretenſions of the Catholics of Ireland, conſidering them in the light of a great political body, which it is not only dangerous, but deſtructive to the conſtitution, further to encourage, or to ſtrengthen by the accumulation of new privileges. In thus publicly declaring my ſentiments, I even do ſome violence to my private feelings and connections, as I live in the ſtricteſt intimacy and friendſhip with ſeveral Roman Catholics, for whom I have the ſincereſt regard and eſteem, knowing them to be perſons of the greateſt worth, integrity and honour.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Continuation of the ſeſſion of 1793—parliamentary proceedings reſpecting a reform—Committee appointed to enquire into the ſtate of the repreſentation—Debate open'd by Mr. Grattan—His Speech—Reſolutions moved by him—Speeches of Mr. Forbes—Hon. M. Stuart—The Proviſt—Sir. J. Blaquiere—Mr. Duquery—Mr. Curran. &c.

NOTWITHSTANDING the oppoſition which the ſeveral attempts for the emancipation of the Roman Catholics met with—they were eventually reſtored to privileges which placed them on nearly the ſame footing with Proteſtant ſubjects—the legiſlative power excepted.—

The ſubject of parliamentary reform continued ſtill to engage the public mind; and during the ſeſſion whoſe proceedings we have noticed in the laſt chapter—the houſe of Commons reſolved itſelf into a committee, to enquire into the ſtate of the repreſentation of the people in parliament.

The debate in this committee, was opened by Mr. Grattan, who ſpoke as follows;—

I will not ſay that this is the moſt important ſubject that was ever agitated in this houſe—I do remember, in 1782. another ſubject of equal, if not ſuperior, moment. The queſtion then was, whether Ireland ſhould be governed by the

the parliament of another country, and the preſent is, whether ſhe ſhould enjoy a Parliament of her own? As the ſubject of parliamentary reform is now poſted, 'tis impoſſible for government to retreat from it. Their declarations the 4th day of the ſeſſion—the words of the Lord Lieutenant's Secretary—the liberal grants of the houſe, have eſtabliſhed the neceſſity of acceding to a reform in parliament, and have ſealed the doom of every rotten borough in the kingdom; hence I collect two things; that parliament ſhould be reformed—that the reform muſt take place this ſeſſion. Here let us appeal to gentlemen converſant with the diſpoſition of the people; do not they think ſo? Are they not convinced of it—don't they know—have they not declared that their conſtituents do now expect a reform of parliament, and that it is a meaſure not more neceſſary for their freedom than their felicity? Having mentioned the ſtate of the queſtion, I will advert to the ſtate of your repreſentation—it is ſhort: Of three hundred members, above two hundred are returned by individuals; from forty to fifty are returned by ten perſons; ſeveral of your boroughs have no reſident elector at all, ſome of them have but one; and, on the whole, two thirds of the repreſentatives in the houſe of Commons are returned by leſs than one hundred perſons! This is not that antient, that venerable conſtitution of King, Lords, and Commons. It is not even an ariſtocracy. It is an oligarchy. It is not an oligarchy of property, but of accident; not of preſcription, but of innovation. Here again I appeal to the conſcious conviction of every man who hears me; and I aſſert two propoſitions, which can neither be denied nor defended: Firſt, that the majority of the repreſentatives are choſen by individuals; ſecond, that a great proportion of them are afterward endowed by the crown. And it follows, that, in our preſent ſtate of repreſentation, the houſe of Commons cannot be ſuppoſed to to be the organ of the people.

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In defence of ſuch a ſtate, three arguments are advanced; Firſt, its antiquity—antiquity! an eſtabliſhment you would imagine that took place in Saxon times, in the age of the Confeſſor, or after the Engliſh intercourſe with Ireland, at the time of the charter of John, or the reign of Edward—No! James the Firſt, was the King who made above forty of thoſe private boroughs. In the year 1613, the members returned to parliament were two hundred and thirty-two; ſince which time ſixty-eight members have been added, all by the houſe of Stuart; one by Anne, four by James the Second; moſt of the remainder by Charles the Firſt, with a view to religious diſtinctions, and by Charles the Second, with a view to perſonal favour. If you look to antiquity, therefore, the boroughs ſtand on bad ground. The form of your conſtitution was twelve counties, eſtabliſhed in the reign of King John. Henry the Eighth, added one; Mary two; and Elizabeth, ſeventeen. Since which time your counties received no addition whatſoever, though between the year 1613 and the preſent, the borough intereſt has received an addition of ſixty-eight members; which, is more than double the whole of the county repreſentation.

The great diviſion on this ſubject is cities or boroughs, where the grant was to burgeſſes and freemen indefinite; or to a limited number of burgeſſes, ſeldom exceeding twelve, in whom the right of election was confined. The former are boroughs intended to be free, and the latter intended to be otherwiſe. The number of the former, I apprehend to be above forty, and where they have become what we underſtand to be intended by the word "cloſe boroughs" they have departed from the intention of the grant, and ought purſuant to the meaning of that grant to be opened. The other claſs, which I apprehend to be above forty, are in their origin vicious—it is a monopoly—like any of the other monopolies of James I.—a grant in its nature

ture criminal. Moſt of the forty boroughs, created by Jame II. were ſo. It appears from the grants themſelves, that they were intended to be private property; they were granted as a perſonal reward for doing ſome ſpecified tranſaction. Such a grant could ſtand, I apprehend, on no principle whatſoever. Theſe with thoſe made by Charles the Firſt, became a ſubject of complaint; they were moſt of them made on the eve of calling a parliament, and ſome of them not ſealed till after the writs of ſummons had iſſued, and were ſo loudly complained of that Charles the Firſt had promiſed to ſubmit a plan to the conſideration of parliament. Thus are theſe two deſcriptions of boroughs; the one intended to be free by the grant, and rendered cloſe by the proprietor; the other intended to be cloſe by the grant, and rendered vicious by the principles of the law. The firſt ſet of boroughs are liable to be queſtioned for departing from their original purpoſe, and the laſt for adhering to it.

Let us compare the ſtate of theſe boroughs with the principles of the conſtitution. The principles of the conſtitution are ſacred, its organization accidental. Are theſe defenſible on the ground of population or property, or population and property mixed? Population is out of the caſe; and as to property, we will ſuppoſe two hundred members returned by one hundred individuals; what property do the former repreſent. Suppoſe the property of theſe individuals is 4,000*l.* per annum; they repreſent 400,000*l.* and vote near 2,000,000*l.* taxes on the people. They are two-thirds of the houſe voting near 2,000,000*l.* and not repreſenting half a million. But if you add what is received back again in place or penſion, you will find it comes nearly to this—that the majority tax others and not their conſtituents. Take it in a ſtronger light; it is well known that near forty perſons are returned by above ten individuals, ſomewhat

more

more than the ſixth of the houſe of Commons, repreſenting that quantity of property and population. By the old conſtitutions, the conſtituents paid their repreſentatives—try the preſent ſtate of repreſentation by that teſt.

Could the one hundred individuals pay the two hundred members? Could the ten individuals pay the forty members? So far from any right on the principle of property to ſend ſo many members to parliament to pay the ſtate, they could not pay the members. The argument, therefore, can ſtand no examination; neither the teſt of property, nor population, nor antiquity of theſe boroughs have been eſtabliſhed by accident, by humour, by ignorance, and by favour, without any regard to property, population, or any one principle of conſtitution. The ſecond argument in their favour is, that they have worked well; that the conſtitution has flouriſhed under rotten boroughs. I beg to conſider the operations of the conſtitution on the public welfare and on private property.

As to public welfare, I acknowledge many beneficial acts, wholeſome regulations, and one great revolution, but may I be ſuffered to think that the redemption of this country had been more ſpeedily eſtabliſhed, the good of this country more uniformly purſued, and with leſs intervals of inconſiſtency, if parliament had been conſtituted more according to the principles of the conſtitution. As it is conſtituted, to me its ordinary operation appears defective, its raptures ſucceſsful, and its relapſes diſgraceful.

You have certain committees—committees of courts of juſtices; have they acted? Committees of trade; have they acted? What was the caſe of the Eaſt India trade? Committees of grievances; have they acted? It appears to me that the functions of the houſe of Commons would be diſcharged

charged with more benefit to the public, and more honour to itſelf, under a conſtitution by repreſentation, than a conſtitution by boroughs. I have had opportunities to ſpeak to the growth of the expences of Government. I have ſhewn, without the probability of contradiction, that in ſeven years you have, in thoſe expences alone, exceeded your eſtimates, in the ſum of 163,000*l.* I did not form my compariſon with the actual expence of 1784; if I had, the exceſs had been greater, particularly with regard to the civil eſtabliſhments, which was, in the year 1784, 174,000*l.* and the exceſs therefore 33,000*l.* not 17,000, as the right honourable gentleman was pleaſed to mention. But I mentioned a progreſs of expence ſtill more ſtriking, that ſince the year 1769, you have encreaſed your annual charge, including debt, more in proportion than Great Britain, notwithſtanding the American war, and all her armaments. But the evil effects on private fortunes of this ſpecies of repreſentation are more ſenſibly felt, and more readily underſtood; thoſe who have conteſted boroughs, thoſe who have repeatedly obtained ſeats in this houſe for boroughs, may find in their mortgages an anſwer to the admirers of the preſent ſyſtem. I may aver, without fear of contradiction, that the expences of election and returns of parliament are ſo ruinous, that no private fortune can ſupport them; that the expence for obtaining returns for a borough, except under the gift of a patron, are ſo great, as no private fortune can ſuſtain; that theſe expences encreaſe with the powers of the conſtitution. I have heard that ſeats in this houſe, forty years ago, were obtained for 600*l.* I have heard they now coſt 3000*l.* and you know theſe expences are ultimately paid by the public. Hence ariſes what we often lamented, the trade of parliament, a trade in which the dealer does not make 6*l.* per cent. by his money, with all the other ſacrifices of honour, &c. I wiſh to lay the axe at the root of this trade, in which the political morality, as well as the freedom of the country,

country, are intimately concerned. I ſhall be told there have been exceptions to this expence; I feel it; but I feel alſo that the expence is the rule, and the ſaving an exception. The property of boroughs, the ſale of boroughs, the ſale of honours, ſale of votes, private embarraſſments, and public ſervility; all will be corrected by the reform of parliament, and the conſtitution under its defective ſtate, ſo far from working as well as gentlemen have flattered themſelves, has been attended with a growth of public expence, equalled only by an accumulation of private difficulties. The third argument in ſupport of the preſent ſyſtem is, that gentlemen cannot agree about a better. We agree in what we condemn; we cannot well differ in the principle on which we are to reform. We agree, I apprehend, that twelve burgeſſes ſhould not return two members to ſerve in parliament. That is, we agree in the deſtruction of cloſe boroughs. We agree on the principle which is to conduct your compaſſes, a maſs of propertied people—the preciſe number only be a ſubject of diſcuſſion; but we agree that we are to look to a maſs of people having property. How far we are to go, and what geographical line, whether the circle of a county, or any leſſer circumſcription, may be a ſubject of diſcuſſion, but not of diſcord.

We cannot differ about the propriety of reſidence—of extending the right of franchiſe to freemen by birth, marriage, or the exerciſe of a trade for a certain time. Perhaps we ſhall not differ on the propriety of extending the right of voting to landholders for years, having a certain valuable intereſt—an univerſal regiſtry—elections to be limited in time, and to be carried on in different places at once; an oath to be taken by the candidate, and to be repeated at your bar, by the member:

"That

"That he has not been at any expence whatſoever, nor paid any ſum whatſoever, to procure his return, by himſelf or others."

Theſe, with ſome other regulations, when added to an internal reform, which ſhould exclude officers of the revenue, and a long, &c. which my friend will explain, and which will reduce the influence by excluding all penſioners for years, and placemen, except ſuch as are in higher departments; ſhew, I think, that the ſubject, however it may have been ſuppoſed to be involved in difficulties, yet contains the principles of concord.

Theſe broad principles carried into execution, muſt inſure you that conſtitution, temperate at once and pure, founded on the true principles of property, with population, including what is well underſtood by the words, "conſtitutional public," giving to every farmer a ſort of ſtation in his country; and to every landlord an intereſt to give an encouraging leaſe. Thus, the reform of Parliament may be a good ſyſtem of agriculture, as well as of liberty. Theſe principles, I ſay, carried into execution, may produce that ſteady calm in the minds of men, which reſults from the ſenſe of a good conſtitution, and the benefits of an honeſt repreſentation.

Mr. Grattan then read three reſolutions, and moved the firſt;

"Reſolved, That the repreſentation of the people is attended with great and heavy charges and payments, in conſequence of elections and returns of members to ſerve in parliament, and that ſaid abuſes ought to be abolished.

"Reſolved, That of the three hundred members elected to ſerve in parliament, the counties, and counties of cities, and

and towns, together with the univerſity, return eighty-four members, and that the remaining two hundred and ſixteen, are returned by boroughs and manors.

"Reſolved, That the ſtate of the repreſentation of the people in parliament requires amendment."

The reſolution was oppoſed by the CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, who objected to it on account of the danger of teaching the public to deſpiſe the preſent ſyſtem before a better one was provided. The houſe ought not to decide thus on the great object of their enquiry before they had made any enquiry at all: and before they had a remedy provided to apply to the evil. If they adopted ſuch a reſolution, they would degrade the parliament, and would their laws then, he aſked, be cheerfully obeyed? He would not be underſtood by this to oppoſe a parliamentary reform; but he would not pledge himſelf to ſupport he knew not what. He thought it was not neceſſary to degrade parliament in order to correct it. It had frequently amended itſelf, but never had adopted ſuch a preparatory reſolution as this. He quoted the octennial bill, and that for determining on conteſted elections by trial of jury, as inſtances where parliament had corrected itſelf without degrading its character. He exhorted gentlemen to imitate this example now, and to introduce any plan they had of reform, without paſſing this reſolution.

Under the preſent ſtate of the repreſentation, the proſperity of the country had increaſed as much as it could have done under any other repreſentation whatſoever; and as to liberty, the Engliſh acts which were adopted at and ſince 1782, ſhewed that the Iriſh parliament was as well inclined to the people in that reſpect, as any parliament could be in whatſoever manner they might be choſen. Before gentle-

men meddled with the defects of the parliament, he would adviſe them to do juſtice to its acts. If parliament were degraded by this reſolution, whatever plan of reform they might afterwards adopt, would not be reſpected; it would only create new demands and new embaraſſments. By all this, he did not mean to oppoſe a parliamentary reform; but to prevent premature and unneceſſary deciſion. The wiſe way would be to produce a ſyſtem of reform; by it to remove the exiſting defects, not to libel them. He cautioned gentlemen of appealing from that houſe to the public, and finally moved, as an amendment, the following:—

"Reſolved, that under the preſent ſyſtem of repreſentation, the privileges of the people, the trade, and the proſperity of the country, have greatly encreaſed, and that if any plan be produced likely to encreaſe thoſe advantages, and not hazard what we already poſſeſs, it ought to be taken into the moſt ſerious conſideration."

Mr. Forbes objected to the amendment, as it was perfectly unparliamentary to move as an amendment what went entirely to ſuperſede the original motion.

The Hon. Mr. Stewart, in a very able ſpeech, reprobated that kind of little ſpecial pleading, by which the adminiſtration endeavoured to get rid of every great conſtitutional queſtion. Parliament, he ſaid, would not at all be injured by the adoption of his right honourable friend's motion, for both in the houſe and out of it, in this country and in England, the fact was known, that a reformation was neceſſary. He defended the reſolution, and alſo the two others which were to follow it, very happily; declared it was not from a love of theoretic perfection that he was a friend to reform, but becauſe he ſaw that, under the preſent ſyſtem, the great ends of repreſentation were not anſwered; for the public voice did not operate finally and with effect on the repreſentative

repreſentative aſſembly. The preſent borough ſyſtem prevented the people from having any tie or influence over the repreſentatives; it alſo prevented the Crown from having a power of appeal to the people, and thus ſubjugated it to the will of an ariſtocratic combination. A reform was much leſs neceſſary in England than here, for the conſtitution of Ireland was much worſe than that of England.

He then threw out an idea of reform, which had occurred to him recently, and which therefore was not matured. It was that of giving to the county electors the power of returning all the members now returned within the county for boroughs; allowing, however, to each elector a voice only for one member. He was againſt an internal reform of parliament without an external one; for ſuch a reform would only ſubjugate the country to the borough monopoliſts, and he would much rather have the power placed in the Crown than in them. He adviſed miniſters to meet this ſubject fairly and freely; for the reform of parliament, founded as it was in reaſon and juſtice, would ultimately eſtabliſh itſelf.

The Secretary of ſtate (the Provoſt) ſaid, he was not in the houſe when this reſolution paſſed for inquiring, in a committee of the whole houſe, into the ſtate of the repreſentation. He underſtood that right honourable gentlemen in high offices had ſtood forward on that occaſion, and declared themſelves friends to a reform in the repreſentation of the people, and that the order, as it now ſtood, was an amendment moved by an honourable gentleman in a conſiderable office under government; he thought, therefore, that the gentlemen at the other ſide of the houſe were not entitled to the whole credit of this meaſure, but that thoſe with whom he uſually acted, were to have their ſhare in it, and were bound to give it every proper ſupport. It was not now the queſtion, whether it was wiſe to agitate the public

mind by the inveſtigation of this ſubject that had been already determined. The houſe had reſolved on the enquiry, and had he been preſent, he would have been induced, from the preſent ſtate of this country, and from the example of ſo many gentlemen in high offices under government, to have agreed to it, having thought it wiſe to enter into this ſubject in ſo ſolemn a manner; we ought to conſider it with the utmoſt caution and deliberation, and draw no concluſion without firſt ſtating the premiſes on which it was founded. To the reſolution reſpecting the injurious conſequences to individuals and the public, occaſioned by the expences of elections, he ſaw no objection: The fact was acknowledged, and he thought a proper election bill would be a good ſtep to a reform in the repreſentations; the other reſolution, as to the number of repreſentatives returned from counties, and from great cities and great towns, was a truth, and he ſaw no objection to their ſolving it; but to reſolve that the repreſentation required amendment, without hearing any evidence, or ſtating any facts, was to determine without inquiry, and was contrary to the expreſs words of the order under which the houſe had gone into a committee. He believed the fact to be true, but that was not enough on a ſubject of ſo much importance; the ſtatements of the facts would give the greateſt weight to any plan of reform that may be thought practicable. The repreſentation of Ireland had been compared to that of Great Britain, but he thought moſt unjuſtly; but the latter could be traced in the time of Britons, Saxons and Normans, though various tenures, ancient uſages, immemorial preſcriptions, ſeveral great charters, and many acts of the legiſlature, from the earlieſt periods of the hiſtory of the kingdom, to the act of union. He confeſſed, that in ſeveral inſtances boroughs has been incorporated there by royal charters, but obſerved, that as to the legality of this prerogative, different opinions had been entertained by authors

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of great character. The laſt exertion of this prerogative, was in the creation of the borough of Newark, by Charles the Second; and though in the year 1676, the Engliſh houſe of Commons determined to receive the members, yet the oppoſition to it was ſo ſtrong, and the minority ſo conſiderable, that this was the laſt attempt made to exerciſe the prerogative in that manner; but what was the hiſtory of the repreſentation in this country? He could inform gentlemen with ſome accuracy, having thought it his duty, when he took a more active part in public buſineſs, to extract from all the borough charters at the Rolls Office their material contents. The number of repreſentatives in the thirty fourth year of Henry the Eighth was one hundred; to this number Mary and Elizabeth added about forty-eight, but of theſe there were nineteen counties, of which Elizabeth had eſtabliſhed ſeventeen, a mode of repreſentation worthy the character of that great princeſs. In the firſt parliament of James the Firſt, held in 1613, the members of the houſe of Commons were two hundred and thirty-two; the laſt creation of a borough was by Queen Anne, who created one only. For the difference between the number of repreſentatives at the acceſſion of James and the preſent number of three hundred, the houſe of Stuart is reſponſible. One half of the repreſentatives were made by them, and made by the exertion of prerogative; of thoſe James made forty at one ſtroke, moſt of them at the eve of a parliament, and ſome after the writs of ſummons had iſſued. The Commons in that parliament expreſsed their doubts whether thoſe boroughs had the power of returning members to ſit in parliament, and reſerved that ſubject for future conſideration. Complaints were made to James of thoſe grants, but what was his anſwer? "I have made forty boroughs; ſuppoſe I had made four hundred—the more the merrier." Charles the Firſt followed the example of his father in exerciſing this prerogative, but not to ſo great

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an extent: Complaints were alſo made to him, and he gave aſſurances that the new corporations ſhould be reviewed by parliament. The grants made by theſe two monarchs appear, by the hiſtories and correſpondences of thoſe times, to have been for the purpoſe of giving the Proteſtants a majority over the Roman Catholics. The grants by Charles II. James II. and Queen Anne, proceeded from motives of perſonal favour; thus it would appear, if the facts were inveſtigated, that one half of the repreſentatives of Ireland had ariſen from the exertions of prerogative, influenced by occaſional motives, diſputes among religioniſts, and inducements of perſonal favour, but had not been derived from any of thoſe ſources which had produced the Engliſh conſtitution. Had he the honour of being a member of the Britiſh houſe of Commons, he would never touch the venerable fabric of their repreſentation; but in this kingdom, the part of the repreſentation univerſally complained of, had originated in private or party motives, and he did not believe there was one preſcriptive borough in the whole kingdom. He believed ſome boroughs were called ſo, but he believed unjuſtly; eleven of the grants which had been mentioned did not appear at the Rolls Office, but moſt of theſe were modern in the time of the Houſe of Stuart. It was the duty, he thought, of the committee, to inquire what was become of thoſe charters, and to inveſtigate the titles of thoſe places to ſend members to parliament; the ſtatement of thoſe facts would give great weight to any opinions that may be formed on the ſubject of improving the repreſentations. He thought it juſt that the houſe ſhould be fully acquainted with all thoſe facts upon which they were to form an opinion on the ſubject of ſuch general importance; ſuch a ſtatement would tend to ſupport thoſe opinions, and to ſhew the propriety of interpoſing on a ſubject where nothing but the moſt evident neceſſity could warrant any interpoſition at all, and he could

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ſpeak from knowledge in ſaying, that the neceſſary information may be obtained in a few days. He acknowledged the truth of the propoſition made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the repreſentatives of the people had, in many inſtances of great public utility, performed the truſts repoſed in them, in a manner moſt honourable to themſelves, and uſeful to the community. He gave them great credit for the limitation of parliament, their relief to their Roman Catholic fellow ſubjects as to their properties in lands, for our free trade and independant legiſlature; and ſaid he ſhould cheerfully join the right honourable gentleman in any reſolutions of that nature, if propoſed in the houſe of Commons, or in a committee, appointed for that purpoſe; but he could not vote for ſuch a reſolution now, becauſe the buſineſs of this committee was to enquire into the ſtate of the repreſentation of the people, and not to conſider in what manner their repreſentatives had conducted themſelves, or what advantages the public had derived from their conduct; nor was it the buſineſs of that committee to ſay in what manner they would conduct themſelves if any uſeful plan ſhould be propoſed; it ought to be preſumed that they would do their duty without any aſſurance of their reſolution to do ſo. He could not, therefore, agree to the amendment propoſed, which he feared might be conſidered as avoiding the object of the inquiry, though, from his knowledge of the right honourable mover, he was ready to ſuppoſe that he had no ſuch intention. He ſaid, that the events which had been mentioned, and which were ſo honourable to the repreſentatives of the people, furniſhing an additional reaſon to ſhew that this committee ſhould be careful in reporting facts before they propoſed opinions in thoſe great national acquiſitions which had been mentioned; the members of parliament were united in one common cauſe with the people; the limitation of parliament particularly increaſed the power of the proprietors

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of boroughs, and free legiſlature and free trade tended to increaſe both their power and property; an equal repreſentation ſtruck at the root of both. He believed that many, and he hoped all of thoſe gentlemen would act from public motives only; but where the intereſts of men were concerned, they were often imperceptibly influenced to exert this natural bias. He thought it proper that the facts which ſhewed the neceſſity of a parliamentary interpoſition ſhould be ſtated; the queſtion was not now, whether the public mind ſhould be agitated by the diſcuſſion of ſuch a queſtion, which had been done by the appointment of this committee. By this meaſure general expectations had been raiſed throughout the kingdom, that a reform in the repreſentation was ſeriouſly intended; any thing that might be conſidered as evading or obſtructing the inquiry in the preſent ſtate of this country, would be highly prejudicial. The ſtatement of facts will ſhew the neceſſity of the interpoſition, and the difficulty of the ſubject. He would mention how far his ideas went: The boroughs might be divided under two heads; thoſe in which freemen had votes without any limitation as to number; the other where the power of electing was veſted in a ſmall and limited number of burgeſſes. The former were intended to be free, and he thought it a juſtice due to the crown as well as to the people, that they would be made ſo. This, he thought, might be done, by giving a title to all freeholders, of the yearly value of ten pounds, lying within certain diſtricts, to be appointed for that purpoſe, to become free of thoſe boroughs. They conſiſted of above fifty; this would be a great improvement in the repreſentation of Ireland, by a conſiderable acceſſion to the democratic ſcale ariſing from freehold property in lands. Thoſe boroughs are generally thought to have become private property; this was an uſurpation on the crown as well as on the people, and no man could diſpute the juſtice and propriety of reſtoring to the

the people thoſe franchiſes which they derive from the crown, and of which they had been unjuſtly deprived. He thought alſo the repreſentation admitted of improvement in another way: If thirty-two counties were neceſſary in the time of Queen Elizabeth, conſidering the great improvement in culture of land, and the vaſt increaſe in population ſince that time, a great number of counties would be neceſſary now; that this was not without precedent, it had been done in one inſtance in the reign of Henry VIII. and an act of parliament for conſtituting commiſſioners for dividing counties is ſtill in force. Such a meaſure would be of great public utility, not only to the repreſentation of the people, but to the police and to the adminiſtration of juſtice. Some of the exiſting counties were confeſſedly too large, from which, in all thoſe reſpects, conſiderable inconveniences had ariſen; the repreſentatives of thoſe new counties may ſupply the places of ſuch of the private boroughs as were not able to ſhew ſuch titles as ſatisfied the houſe, or ſuch as for any other reaſons it ſhould be thought proper to aboliſh. In reſpect of thoſe private boroughs, if it ſhould be thought neceſſary to go into any alteration of theſe, it may be effected in the manner which he had mentioned in reſpect to the free boroughs, but he thought that the number of repreſentatives ought not to be encreaſed. He acknowledged, that nothing could be ſaid in defence of the private boroughs; he thought a perfect repreſentation was not poſſible to be attained in any country. No object ought to be in contemplation, but ſuch a repreſentation as would make this houſe the real organ of the people; that the houſe of Commons of England always acted agreeably to the ſenſe of the people when that ſenſe was known, could not be denied; they had therefore probably attained to that point of perfection which could be alone expected in ſuch a ſyſtem. It muſt be confeſſed, that this houſe had not been conſidered as

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the organ of the people, and had not always ſpoken their ſentiments. The cry for a reform in the repreſentation had become general throughout the kingdom; the conſtitution itſelf had become totally different in moſt of its great principles, from what it was ſuppoſed to be when the houſe of Stuart had new modelled the repreſentation, on motives, and in a manner, which no man would defend at this day. From the arbitrary ſpirit which had prevailed at ſome of thoſe periods, the long and frequent diſcontinuance of parliament, the diſtracted ſtate of this nation for a part of that time, and its diſtreſſed ſituation during the greateſt portion of it, this ſubject, though the conſtant topic of complaint, was never before the object of inquiry; it ſhould be more fully inveſtigated before you come to any reſolution. You ſhould not tell the people that the repreſentation required amendment, without ſuggeſting the remedies. He then recommended the following mode to be adopted by the committee:—Have all thoſe charters laid before you—inquire after thoſe not now at the rolls; then report reſolutions of fact, ſetting forth the ſtate of the repreſentation, and other reſolutions containing your opinion as to the remedies proper to be applied; but let the houſe poſtpone the conſideration of thoſe reſolutions till next ſeſſion of parliament, that time may be given to the members of this houſe to conſult with their conſtituents, and to digeſt ſuch a temperate plan of reform as may be generally acceptable. He meant no delay; he wiſhed to forward the meaſure; to obſtruct or embarraſs it now would be highly impolitic; but he wiſhed to proceed with the utmoſt caution and deliberation, and to receive the fulleſt information before they finally decided on a ſubject of ſuch magnitude.

Sir

Sir John Blaquiere ſaid, he would oppoſe the motion of the right honourable member, and ſupport the amendment made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, becauſe the motion claſhed with the great Catholic buſineſs, which it was underſtood ought to have taken the lead; becauſe it might ſuperſede the deſigns of the two right honourable gentlemen, who firſt moved in the buſineſs, and who were not now in their places, (Mr. Ponſonby and Mr. Conolly); and he did not ſee what right the honourable mover had to ſkim the crock and take all the cream and the dainties to make up his ſyllabub, leaving them nothing but the ſkim-milk: But above all, becauſe he thought this motion prejudged the meaſure, and tended to pledge the houſe for that which it was more than doubtful they could ever perform; and that it raiſed an expectation which they would poſſibly never be able to ſatisfy, and which he believed at this moment to be perfectly impracticable, and, as he thought, unſafe and unwiſe.

By the manner in which the meaſure was introduced, and the way in which it was debated, a bye-ſtander would think all was quiet throughout the kingdom, that there was neither offender nor defender, neither aſſociation or tumult, and that one general ſentiment of peace and order pervaded the land. He would not ſay the country was in arms, but he thought, without offence, it might be inſinuated that the public mind was ſomething diſturbed, and that therefore ſuch a meaſure, difficult if not dangerous at all times, might now be fatal to our peace.

The right honourable gentleman had talked of the novelty of the preſent repreſentation, that it had neither preſcriptive or other right. He obſerved, there was no increaſe of the borough repreſentation, (one inſtance only excepted) ſince the Revolution, and that it was from that period

period alone you ſhould date your conſtitution. That the conſtitution, this boaſt of the world, was a mixed monarchy—an union of intereſts, and a mutuality of checks in the great conſtituent parts—and for this great end, a limited interference or intereſt on the part of the Crown and the Lords, had ever been acquieſced in by the Houſe of Commons. Was the entire Houſe of Commons to be named by the King, the ſtate would be a pure monarchy; was the Houſe of Lords to name it, it would be an ariſtocracy; and were it entirely in the people, a perfect democracy; neither of which are governments that would be reliſhed by this people—the mixture perhaps, not perfectly chaſte and pure, but it was a government under which this country had throve, under which England had become the happieſt people on earth and the arbitreſs of the world.

Give us the Engliſh conſtitution, ſay gentlemen, with loud voices: And are there no rotten boroughs in that country? Is the repreſentation more equal than here? Is the borough of Harriſtown leſs competent in Kildare, than Old Sarum in Wilts, where there ſtands not a thatched cabin within ſome miles diſtance? Appleby is not a cloſe borough, but it was, he believed, one of the moſt corrupt boroughs in the empire; yet Appleby had returned Mr. Pitt, nay, he believed that the right-honourable gentleman himſelf, when he rendered his ſervices eſſential to the public, was returned for the borough of Charlemont. And how ſtands the general repreſentation in that country? Cornwall at the fag-end of the kingdom, not more populous than any neighbouring county, with half its inhabitants living under ground; Cornwall ſends at this hour forty-four members to the Engliſh parliament, whilſt the county of Middleſex, the cities of London and Weſtminſter, with all their conſequence and vaſt population, return only

only eight, and yet theſe people look not for a reform; true, there was an aſſociation for that purpoſe ſet on foot, and true it is that many of the moſt reſpectable men in that kingdom had concurred in the meaſure; but it is equally true alſo, that almoſt every reſpectable gentleman in that aſſociation had ſtruck out his name from the liſt.

Coming more immediately to what he wiſhed to ſtate, he obſerved, that on any other occaſion, or any other ſubject, he ſhould be aſhamed to treſpaſs on the houſe as he did, but the object of their preſent conſideration, was too momentous to require apologies; for in it was involved nothing leſs as he conceived, than the peace of the country now, and at the time to come, if you ſhall have the power of conveying your eſtates to your children.

It ſeems, Sir, ſaid he, as if God for our ſins had viſited theſe countries, Great Britain, France and Ireland, commonly called the King's Dominions, with an epidemic and dangerous diſorder which manifeſts itſelf in a rage for innovation and reform. In Great Britain and France the paroxyſm having got to its criſis, the matter has been in thoſe countries decided; in Ireland the thing is at iſſue.

In France, the tyranny of government had obtained to ſuch an exceſs, that the people were incapable of enduring it any longer; and in the idea of reform it unhappily became the object of their miſtaken zeal and wiſhes, to call for a complete repreſentation of all the people, preciſely in the ſame terms which are uſed by the county of Monaghan, in the reſolutions they have this day paſſed, in their inſtructions to their members (which he read); the people thus repreſented, were jealous of the good, and liked not the great; moderate men were ſoon circumvented or expelled;

pelled; the lords were diſmiſſed; and in a ſhort time their king, nay, their God, were voted to be incumbrances to the ſtate. In our long parliament, proceedings very ſimilar occurred; they originated in the ſame principles, and ended in like cataſtrophes. But this is the event of yeſterday: Louis the Sixteenth carried his dignity, with his innocence, to the ſcaffold; but as he had, he ſaid, ſo lately enlarged on this melancholy theme, he would now only obſerve, that of the firſt national aſſembly, conſiſting of one thouſand two hundred men, more than three hundre and fifty, he believed, had been butchered, and, with the exception of about ſixteen or eighteen perſons, the reſt were baniſhed and the property of all confiſcated, and this was the effect of a complete repreſentation of all the people! And in regard to their œconomy, ſuch was the parſimony with which the public treaſure was handled, (he knew the fact), that the expence, for the month of September laſt, was more than ſeven million ſterling; in October it exceeded eight millions five hundred thouſand pounds; and that in the account of individuals, whilſt many of their beſt reſpected patriots were privately remitting and veſting in our funds, ſums from forty to fourſcore thouſand pounds for themſelves, they had the inhuman impudence to refuſe to their inſulted and beautiful queen the coſt of a ſingle change of common apparel!

In England it was otherwiſe; the good ſenſe of the nation prevailed, and all are happy and at peace: but about the time of the meeting of their parliament, it wore ſuch an inauſpicious aſpect, that the vigilance of the executive government thought it neceſſary to call within the circumvallation of the metropolis, all the troops for one hundred miles round. In a village where he was, (Greenwich) the Prince of Wales's regiment, which, to the glory and advantage of the nation, is now ſo properly called, [a loud

cry

cry of hear him! hear him!] marched in during the night. Language was held in that parliament ſuch as never diſgraced theſe walls. The glorious victory of Jemappe; the diſgrace and defeat of the two tyrants, the King of Pruſſia, and the Emperor, the allies of Great Britain, were founded in exulting triumph. But they were met by the virtues of the people, whoſe ſenſes were rouſed by the exertions of an honourable gentleman, who boldly puſhed forward in the front of the battle, and to whoſe talents, manhood and interpoſition, the peace of that kingdom may, in a great meaſure, be aſcribed. By him the fallacy of their arguments was refuted, and the dangerous principles of their conduct expoſed: this was done by an Iriſhman—the miniſter of England was not in parliament, and if it ſhould ever happen that ſuch ſervices were forgot—no, they never would be forgot, for whilſt memory held its ſeat in the breaſt of man, the name of Edmund Burke would be repeated with gratitude, by every true born Engliſhman; the force of his eloquence and the truth of his doctrine was ſo irreſiſtible, that one by one the great matadors of the antient oppoſition deſerted their leader, profeſſing eternal ties of perſonal attachment and reſpect; they, however, almoſt all of them, voted againſt him; not out of any regard to the miniſter, but on the contrary; for he did in his conſcience believe, that the arch-angel Gabriel is not more deteſted by the devil himſelf, than Mr. Pitt is by many of theſe gentlemen; but the conduct of adminiſtration was wiſe, active and vigilant, and the ſupport given was unequivocal; the words, he believed, he could nearly recollect of one of the firſt characters in the kingdom, "I will not," ſaid he, "contaminate the ſupport I wiſh to give, by any unworthy inſinuations which might tend to leſſen the character of adminiſtration in the eyes of the country, or that would deprive them of the confidence of the people, ſo neceſſary for them at this time." The conſequence

ſequence has been ſomething very like an unanimity; the effects of it, peace.

Ireland is now to take her choice; ſhe will conſider the examples that are before her; the page of hiſtory need not be ranſacked, the thing is recent and freſh: you ſee at this moment the people of England, proſperous and happy; and at the ſame moment, perhaps, the kennels of Paris running with blood. But God once hardened the heart of Pharaoh, and if, for our tranſgreſſions, he ſhall, in his wiſdom, permit this infatuation to continue among us; why, ſaid he, I ſhall have done my duty; he owed great obligations to the country; he was diſcharging a part of the debt.

He had done, he ſaid, his duty, and at this moment would add but one obſervation, which he wiſhed might be as impreſſive upon the minds of other gentlemen, as it had been upon his own; we were yet in time to rally round the conſequence of parliament, if gentlemen were diſpoſed to maintain its character and authority: but that in his conſcience, he truly believed it was utterly impoſſible in the ſame breath, to maintain the peace of the country, and to overthrow its government; they ſhould, and they muſt, in a criſis like this, ſtand or fall together.

Mr. Duquery contended, ſtrenuouſly, in ſupport of the reſolution propoſed by Mr. Grattan, and expreſſed the concern which he felt at ſeeing the manner in which the motion of that right honourable gentleman, had been received by thoſe on the other ſide of the houſe; more eſpecially, when it is remembered how the ſubject, which was now under diſcuſſion, came immediately before them. At the commencement of the preſent ſeſſion, a motion was made by the right honourable gentleman, who has now propoſed

propoſed the preſent reſolution, "to appoint a committee to inquire whether any, and what abuſes, had taken place in the Adminiſtration of this country." That motion was negatived by the gentlemen on the other ſide of the houſe; and, at the ſame time, a member in the confidence of Adminiſtration, and high in office under them, moved, as an amendment, that a committee ſhould be appointed, to enquire into the ſtate of the repreſentation of the nation; and a committee was accordingly appointed, with almoſt the unanimous approbation of the houſe, to take into conſideration that ſerious and important queſtion. We are now ſitting, for the firſt time, in that committee, and we are now debating upon the firſt reſolution propoſed for our conſideration. The true tendency of that reſolution is, to put an end to that dangerous and unconſtitutional abuſe of procuring ſeats in parliament, by the payment of certain ſums of money, whether thoſe ſums be diſtributed amongſt a number of electors, or paid at once into the hand of a ſingle individual. There is the great primary grievance, and the ſource, perhaps, of every other political abuſe which the propoſed reſolution is calculated to correct, and, if poſſible, totally to eradicate. If then we are really ſerious in the arduous taſk we have undertaken, that of endeavouring to reform the ſtate of our repreſentation, I can ſcarcely conceive how ſuch a reſolution can meet with a ſingle negative. Is there any man in this committee who entertains a doubt that ſeats have been procured again and again in parliament, by the diſtribution and payment of conſiderable ſums of money, tending at once to weigh down the member who procures his ſeat by ſuch unworthy practices, to corrupt the elector who votes under ſuch influence, and to degrade the parliament, whoſe ſeats are obtained by the violation of every conſtitutional principle. Surely, it will not be contended, that it is neceſſary for us to call evidence to our bar, to prove the exiſtence of an abuſe,

uſe, which any man out of this houſe would hold it ridiculous to controvert; and if we are all of us convinced that ſuch corrupt practices have prevailed to ſuch an exceſs, as almoſt to endanger the ſafety of the ſtate, ought we to heſitate in adopting the reſolution now propoſed, the great object of which is to cut out by the roots that unconſtitutional traffic? But, inſtead of acceding to this meaſure, the right honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer has thought proper to move, by way of amendment, a reſolution altogether diſtinct from that originally propoſed, and totally out of the ſphere of the ſubject now before us. That right honourable gentleman has thought proper to move you to come to a reſolution, "that under the preſent ſtate of the repreſentation of the people in parliament, our manufactures have improved, our trade has encreaſed, and the country has advanced in proſperity." Now, really, Sir, what that long laboured panegyric upon parliament has to ſay to the preſent ſubject, I am at a loſs to diſcover; if parliament has done ſervices to the nation, the people muſt know and feel their effects, and it is unneceſſary for us to become panegyriſts of our own actions. And if, on the other hand, the people ſhould not conceive themſelves ſo highly indebted to the juſtice and wiſdom of parliament, as that right honourable gentleman had endeavoured to convince them that they are, then ſuch a profuſe and unbounded eulogy upon ourſelves, will tend only to exhibit Parliament in a very ridiculous point of view; let us, for one moment, reflect what was the object of the houſe, in appointing a committee to inquire into the ſtate of the repreſentation of the people? Was it not upon a preſumption that ſome conſiderable abuſes have taken place in that repreſentation, which loudly calls upon our exertion, to rectify? Should we then, inſtead of coming to a ſpecific reſolution, tending to eradicate one of the principal abuſes which exiſt in that repreſentation, draw up a ſtudied panegyric

gyric upon our own conduct? Would not the houſe, when we come to report our proceedings and deliver in to them theſe laviſh encomiums upon parliament, conceive that we had very much miſtaken the object of our inquiry, and miſſpent the time of our committee? The right honourable gentleman, on the other ſide, has called the reſolution propoſed to you, by the right honourable mover on this ſide, a libel upon parliament. Why ſo, in fact, were thoſe very bills to which he has alluded in the courſe of his ſpeech. What was that much boaſted election law, which the right honourable gentleman had alluded to, and generally known by the name of Mr. Grenville's Act? That law might juſt as well have been conſidered a libel upon parliament; for it certainly admitted one leading point, that the houſe of Commons, in its collective capacity, had not ſufficient integrity to decide the merits of conteſted elections between oppoſite candidates, and, therefore, a ſworn committee was by that act eſtabliſhed, upon the neceſſary implication, that the houſe itſelf was inadequate to the purpoſe of juſtice; yet that bill, ſo far from being deemed a libel, was conſidered as a great conſtitutional improvement; ſo in the ſame manner, as to the octennial bill, which that right honourable gentleman has made part of his eulogium upon parliament, that bill was founded upon the preſumption, that this houſe ought not to be truſted with the repreſentation of the people, for a longer period than that of eight years; ſurely that was a ſtrong implication of the neceſſity of correcting an abuſe in the conſtitution, by making its repreſentative body return back to the fountain of the people; and yet that law, ſo far from being conſidered as a libel upon parliament, has ever been deemed as one of our greateſt conſtitutional improvements. Let us, therefore, have done with ſaying that this reſolution is a libel upon parliament, becauſe it goes to rectify one of the greateſt abuſes exiſting in the repreſentation. In truth, Sir, I con-

ſider this unneceſſary panegyric upon parliament as a pretty certain omen, that we are not to hope, at preſent, for any effective reform; inſtead of beginning by correction, we commence our labours by flattery, as unbounded as ſome perſons might think it unmerited. If we are really and truly ſerious in the great work we have undertaken, let us, by adopting the reſolution now propoſed by the right honourable gentleman near me, ſatisfy the nation, that we have undertaken this glorious taſk, with the zeal and ſpirit that becomes honeſt repreſentatives, and not with the addreſs and cunning that are ſuited only to finiſhed courtiers.

Mr. Curran oppoſed the amendment propoſed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and ſupported the original motion with great warmth. He examined it from different points of view. He ſaid this was not a time for ſophiſtry or quibble. A member of parliament ought to leave his ingenuity at the door, and bring into the houſe nothing but his ingenuouſneſs and integrity. We muſt be beſotted indeed if we thought ſophiſms, which could not impoſe upon ourſelves, could make dupes of the public. The queſtion before us was the ſimpleſt imaginable. The houſe had come to a reſolution of inquiring "into the ſtate of the repreſentation." The committee had now met accordingly. What did they meet to inquire into? Was it the merits of the Houſe of Commons? No, he ſaid, every man knows the contrary; it was the defects of the repreſentation complained of by the people, and admitted by the houſe itſelf. What then could the Chancellor of the Exchequer mean, by propoſing a fulſome panegyric on the merits of a body, into whoſe defects they were ordered to inquire? If we do this, ſaid he, we ſhall deceive nobody; not ourſelves; not the people, they will deſpiſe and deteſt us, for the hypocriſy and effrontery of ſuch a procedure. He ſaid parliament was at the very moment of criſis. The hope we had held

held out of conſtitutional redreſs, had held the diſquiet of the public mind in ſuſpence. Our preſent conduct muſt be deciſive; it muſt fix the public hope of reform to parliament, or ſhew the people they muſt look only to themſelves. We had, he ſaid, brought forward the firſt neceſſary ſtep—the avowed abuſe of parliament—the ſale of boroughs—Was this a fact? If you deny it, ſaid he, we will ſhew you that the great body of this houſe are ſitting here for money, and not by election. If you admit the fact, will you ſay that it is not an abuſe? If you ſtifle this by artifice, I ſay again, we ſhall become odious and contemptible to the nation, and they will look to themſelves, and Ireland muſt take her chance of ſuch conſtitution as may be made for her. If you do your duty, you may now form it yourſelves.

He then ſtated the reform which, he ſaid, ought to take place. A fair repreſentation of the landed and commercial property of the nation; that, he ſaid, ought to be done, forthwith, as cautiouſly as may be, but certainly within this ſeſſion; otherwiſe, it muſt be loſt, and the ſtate of Ireland, at war, divided and diſſatisfied, made it peculiarly neceſſary at this juncture. But, he ſaid, gentlemen deſired a plan. He expreſſed much indignation at this demand; to deny the diſeaſe, and demand the remedy, he ſaid, was ridiculouſly abſurd. He ſaid he ſhould be ſorry to ſee a plan introduced until the neceſſity was confeſſed; it would be ſilly while that neceſſity was denied. But he had another objection to the introduction of a plan; he thought it ought to be ſubject to all the conſideration within and without the houſe, which the ſeſſion would allow; and he thought the houſe ought to enſure the continuance of the ſeſſion for that great object. He had alſo another; the Catholic queſtion muſt precede a reform. Their place in the ſtate muſt be decided firſt.

The

The queſtion, he ſaid, was ſhort, and would be deciſive. Ireland feels, that without an immediate reform, her liberty is gone. I think ſo too; while a ſingle guard of Britiſh freedom, either internal or external is wanting, Ireland is in bondage; ſhe looks to us for that great emancipation; ſhe expects not impoſſibilities from us, but ſhe expects honeſt and plain dealing; and if ſhe finds them not, remember what I predict, ſhe will abominate her parliament, and look for a reform to herſelf.

Mr. Grattan in reply ſaid—The right honourable gentleman has called the ſubmitted reſolution a libel on parliament, hoping, no doubt, that I would have introduced ſome ſtrong and indecorous reſolutions which would have given them an opportunity of oppoſing the principle of the reform of parliament, under the colour of maintaining its reputation; but I have ſo framed the reſolutions that none of them directly go to degrade this houſe, at the ſame time that they do moſt certainly arraign the practices and defects which attend the repreſentation; the firſt reſolution ſtrikes directly at the ſale of boroughs; it does indeed ſtrike at the expences of elections, but it does alſo and directly ſtrike at the ſale of boroughs; and for ſo much corrects one great vice in your repreſentation, without correcting which, it is in vain to think of correcting the others. Gentlemen have ſaid, this motion is the ſubject of an election bill—an election bill that compaſſed this part of the ſubject would be, for ſo much, a reform bill. I confeſs, I think the motion is but little underſtood; it is not conceived to reach the ſale of boroughs. The words, payments for returns to ſerve in parliament, mean more than expences at elections; and for that reaſon they are inſerted: they go directly to the root of the ſale of boroughs; and the reaſon why I began with this part of the ſubject is, becauſe you have as ſtrong evidence as you can

have,

have, or would receive, touching the ſale of boroughs; you would not receive public proof, and you have already internal conviction of that abuſe; therefore you cannot ſay againſt this reſolution what you will be too willing to ſay againſt the others, that you have no proof.

This reſolution then puts the queſtion directly to your breaſt. Are you or are you not an enemy to the reform of parliament? If you reſiſt this motion, it is not becauſe you want evidence, for you have all the evidence this part of the ſubject admits of; it is not becauſe you exact reſpect for the exiſting conſtitution, for this meaſure is drawn up in terms of unqueſtionable decorum, ſo it is becauſe you are not yet ſincere on the ſubject.

The other two reſolutions go to the inadequacy of the repreſentation; the firſt ſtates proportions of which you have had proof theſe many years, and the third from that reſolution infers that the ſtate of your repreſentation requires amendment; here I am under difficulties—if on the one hand to arraign, or on the other hand to leave unqueſtioned the preſent ſtate of your houſe of Commons, I have taken what I think a decorous part. I have queſtioned its defects reſpectfully, without diſappointing thoſe who only wiſh a reform, or gratifying thoſe who wiſh the degradation of parliament. If you paſs theſe reſolutions, you muſt reform the repreſentation, but I ſee from the oppoſition to the firſt, the propriety of keeping back the laſt; for if the committee will not go ſo far as to ſay that ſale of boroughs are an abuſe, it will not ſay the repreſentation is defective; the truth is, the committee will ſay nothing on the ſubject; but it is in vain to parry it—you muſt reform parliament, and you muſt do it this ſeſſion; you have gone too far to go back. I look upon the reform of parliament as a meaſure of abſolute neceſſity, and

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if you reſiſt us in one ſhape, we will return in twenty, until at laſt this great point is atchieved for the country. The amendment of the right honourable member propoſes, that if a plan ſuch as the amendment deſcribes is ſubmitted, the committee will conſider it. The right honourable gentleman forgets that the committee is appointed to inquire into the ſtate of the repreſentation only. The amending that ſtate by a ſpecific plan, is the buſineſs moſt honourably and diſintereſtedly occupied by another right honourable member, whom I wiſh on this ſubject not to come acroſs, but follow and aſſiſt; were I to come with a ſpecific plan to this committee I ſhould be guilty of attempting to do by the inſtrument of the committee, what he will do by the bill, propound a plan of reform; it is my object therefore in this committee to pledge you to the buſineſs, and to ſpeed it ſo as that it may be compleated this ſeſſion of parliament. Thoſe gentlemen who are moſt impatient for a ſpecific plan, are impatient for it in order to attack the principle, under pretence of cavilling with the plan—No, Sir, but when gentlemen are ſufficiently embarked in the principle, then will be the proper time for producing a plan.

The right honourable gentleman in his amendment, invites you indeed to produce a plan, but, at the ſame time, tells you, it is unneceſſary; for the Houſe of Commons, in the preſent ſtate of repreſentation, has done every thing which your trade and your conſtitution require; and under pretence of defending the character of parliament, he ſuggeſts the practical excellence of your preſent repreſentation; his amendment therefore, goes againſt the reform of parliament; but, fearing ſuch an amendment is too ſtrong, he ſoftens it afterwards, and ſays, it is true if you can find what he thinks you cannot; ſuch a plan of reform as ſhall ſecure you all your advantages, and give you more than

than indeed he will. What! adopt it!—No, conſider it. Who will conſider? not the houſe, but a committee appointed to another purpoſe—for the purpoſe of enquiring into the ſtate of the repreſentation, not framing a bill for the reform of parliament; ſo that his amendment is objectionable for its informality as well as its contents. He cannot propoſe it in the committee, and he ought not to propoſe it in the houſe; and propoſed in either, it injures the great queſtion to which we are all attentive, and moſt of us pledged—the Reform of Parliament.

The queſtion being at length put on the amendment, there appeared

For the amendment	—	153
Againſt it —	—	71
Majority for the amendment	—	82

End of the Second Vol.

CONTENTS

OF THE SECOND VOLUMNE,

CHAPTER I. *Page* 9.

Opening of Parliament in 1785—*Lord Lieutenant's ſpeech—remarks thereon.—Debates on the ſubject of attachment.—Speech and motion of H. Flood, Eſq. thereon—motion amended.—Debates and proceedings reſpecting Mr. Orde's Commercial propoſitions.—Speech of the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons on preſenting the Money Bills.*

CHAP. II. *Page* 25.

Proceedings in Great Britain and Ireland reſpecting a final adjuſtment of commerce.—Propoſitions ſubmitted to the Britiſh Miniſtry;—and new model'd—Bills introduced in the Houſe

of Commons in each country grounded thereon—Mr. Secretary Orde's ſpeech on that occaſion—Speech of Henry Grattan—leave given to bring in the bill—public opinion on the ſubject—Petitioners for and againſt the bill; ſubſequent proceedings and event of the meaſure.—

CHAP. III. *Page* 80.

Opening of the ſeſſion of 1786—*Lord Lieutenant's ſpeech—diſturbances by the Right-boys—proceedings of the Roman Catholic Clergy—bill for better execution of the law—debates thereon—petition againſt it—propoſal for a national ſyſtem of education—ſtate of the national debt in* 1786—*Speaker's ſpeech on preſenting the money bills—principal acts paſſed—concluſion of the ſeſſion.*

CHAP. IV. *Page* 93.

Commencement of the ſeſſion 1787—*Lord Lieutenant's ſpeech—addreſs to his Majeſty—debates on paſſing the addreſs—enquiry into the inſurrections in Munſter—petition from the Preſbyterian Clergy—treaty of commerce with France—reſolutions thereon—debates thereon—addreſs to his Majeſty relative to the treaty.*

CHAP. V. *Page* 137.

Bill introduced to limit the amount of penſions—ſpeech of Mr. Forbes—ſtate of national education—ſpeech and motion of Secretary

tary Orde thereupon—resolutions—principal bills passed this session—close of the session 1787—*Lord Lieutenant's speech—prorogation—death of the Duke of Rutland—lord Justices appointed—Marquis of Buckingham appointed Lord Lieutenant.*

CHAP. VI. *Page* 160.

Session of 1788.—*Mr. Grattan's speech respecting tythes.—prorogation.—session* 1789—*his Majesty's illness.—proceedings thereon in the Irish parliament.—address to the Prince of Wales from both houses.—protest of the peers.—answer of the Lord Lieutenant on delivery of the address.—protests on this occasion.—answers returned by the Prince of Wales.—address of the commons.—protest of the lords.—Speech of the Lord Lieutenant on his Majesty's recovery.—address to his Majesty from the Lords—address from the commons.—proceedings in Great Britain.*

CHAP. VII. *Page* 209.

Earl of Westmoreland Lord Lieutenant—Sessions open'd in January, 1790—*Mr. Grattan's speech on the address to his Majesty.—proceedings respecting public expences.—and on fiats in actions of slander.—place-bill and pension-bill rejected.—Speaker's speech on presenting the money-bills.—prorogation.—dissolution of parliament.—new Election.*

CHAP. VIII. *Page* 219.

Meeting of parliament 20 *of January* 1791.—*Encouragement of Breweries.—Mr. Ponsonby moves for a select committee*

to

to enquire into the uſe of certain offices.---Debate thereon.---motion rejected.---ſecond motion on the ſubject.—Speeches of Mr. Ponſonby.—Sir Hercules Langriſhe, &c.---motion rejected.---debates relative to ſale of Peerages.---motion for a Committee of enquiry thereon rejected.---Cloſe of the ſeſſion, 5th May, 1791.

CHAP. IX. *Page* 248.

Opening of the ſeſſion in January 1792.—*motion for an addreſs to his majeſty.—Mr. Grattan's ſpeech thereupon.—motion for leave to bring in a bill in favour of the Roman Catholics.—Speech of Sir Her. Langriſhe.—leave given.—Heads of the bill as preſented to the houſe—debates thereupon.*

CHAP. X. *Page* 294.

Addreſs on behalf of the Roman Catholics to the Lord Lieutenant.—Reſolutions and proceedings of the Catholic body —motion of Mr. Ponſonby reſpecting the Trade of Ireland. —Speaker's addreſs on preſenting the money bills.—Concluſion of the ſeſſion.—Lord Lieutenant's ſpeech.—ſeſſion of 1793.—*Debates reſpecting parliamentary reform—the like concerning volunteers.*

CHAP.

CONTENTS.

CHAP. XI. *Page* 328.

Petition of the Roman Catholics to his Majeſty.—Formation of political ſocieties.—Addreſs from the friends of the Conſtitution to the people of Ireland.—Proceedings of the ſociety of Free-maſons.—Addreſs to the Catholics from their ſubcommittee.—Motion for leave to bring in a bill for the further relief of the Roman Catholics.—Speech of Sir H. Langriſhe on ſeconding the motion.—Speech of Dr. Duigenan in oppoſition to the bill.

CHAP. XII. *Page* 416.

Continuation of the ſeſſion of 1793—*parliamentary proceedings reſpecting a reform—Committee appointed to enquire into the ſtate of the repreſentation—Debate open'd by Mr. Grattan—His Speech—Reſolutions moved by him—Speeches of Mr. Forbes—Hon. M. Stewart—The Provoſt—Sir. J. Blaquiere—Mr. Duquery—Mr. Curran. &c.*

FINIS.